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ITALY.

BY

JOSIAH CONDER

AUTHOR OF THE MODERN TRAVELLER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

'Italia! Oh Italia, thou who hast
The fatal gift of beauty.'

BYRON.

VOL. III.

PISA—SIENA—ROME—NAPLES.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JAMES DUNCAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND THOMAS TEGG AND SON, CHEAPSIDE.

MDCCCXXXIV.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Duke-street, Lambeth.

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THIRD VOLUME.

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ERRATA IN THE THIRD VOLUME.

At page 57, note. Colle is a small town, the see of a bishop, about five hours from Volterra. *See* Sir R. C. Hoare's Classical Tour, vol i. p. 7.

At page 348. The Mercury misnamed Antinous is in the Vatican, not in the Capitol.

ITINERARY TO VOL. III.

Route XIII.—From Florence to Rome by way of Siena.

	Posts.	Hours.*	
To S. Casciano	1½		
„ Tavernelle	1	6	1st day
„ Poggibonzi	1		
„ Castiglioncello	1	3½	
„ Siena, p. 59	1		
„ Montaroni	1	3½	
„ Buonconvento	1		
„ Torrinieri	1		
„ La Poderina	1	8¾	
„ Ricorsi	1		
„ Radicofani, p. 83 (frontier)	1		
„ Pontecentino (frontier)	1½		
„ Acquapendente, p. 83	1		
	14	6¾	
„ S. Lorenzo Nuovo, p. 84	¾		
„ Bolsena, p. 85	1		
„ Montefiascone	1	3	4th day
„ Viterbo, p. 87	1¼	2¼	
„ Monte Cimino	1		
„ Ronciglione, p. 89	1	6	5th day
„ Monterosi, p. 134	1		
„ Baccano	1		
„ La Storta	1	6	6th day
„ Rome, p. 135	1½		
	24½	45¾	

* In following this route, *en voiturier*, the first day's stage is to Poggibonzi; the second, 9¼ hours, to S. Quirico; the third, 8¼ hours, to Torricella; the fourth, 7¼ hours, to Montefiascone; the fifth, 8¼ hours, to Monterosi; the sixth, 6 hours, to Rome.

	Miles.	h.	m.
Distance from			
Florence to Acquapendente .	96½	20	20
Acquapendente to Rome .	80	14	15
	176½	34	35

(Milan Itinerary.)

XIV.—From Florence to Rome by way of Perugia.

	Posts.
To Ponte a Sieve	1½
„ L'Incisa	1½
„ Levane	2
„ Arezzo, p. 90	2
„ Rigutino	1
„ Camuccia	1½
„ Case del Piano	1½
„ Magione	1
„ Perugia, p. 97	1½
„ La Madonna d'Angioli, p. 99 . . .	1
„ Foligno*, p. 100	1
	15½
„ La Vene, p. 120	1
„ Spoleto, p. 122	1
„ Strettura	1
„ Terni, p. 124	1
„ Narni, p. 131	1
„ Otricoli, p. 132	1
„ Borghetto, p. 133	¾
„ Civita Castellana	¾
„ Nepi, p. 134	1
„ Monterosi, ...	¾
„ Baccano	1
	25¾

* In the "Itin. d'Italie," the posts are—to S. Donato, 1; L'Incisa, 1; Levane, ; Arezzo, ; Castiglione, ; Camuccia, ¾; Case del Piano, 1½; and the rest as above: total to Foligno, 14 posts.

	Posts.
Brought forward	25¾
To La Storta	1
„ Rome	1¼
	28

	Miles.	Hours.
Distance from Florence to Foligno	102	21
„ Foligno to Rome	93	19
	195	40

*** The return route, *en voiturier*, is reckoned 63 hours: viz., to Monterosi, 7 hours; to Civita Castellana, 3½; to Terni, 7½; to Spoleto, 5½; to Foligno, 4½; to Perugia, 5½; to Torricella, 4½; to Camuccia, 6; to Arezzo, 5½; to San Giovanne, 6½; to Firenze, 7. This route occupies seven days.

XV.—From Bologna to Rome by way of Ancona and Loreto.

	Posts.
To S. Niccolo	1¼
„ Imola, (vol. ii.) p. 278	1¼
„ Faenza, p. 279	1
„ Forli	1
„ Cesena, p. 280	1½
„ Savignano	1
„ Rimini, p. 304	1
„ Cattolica	1½
„ Pesaro, (vol. iii.) p. 102	1
„ Fano	1
„ La Marotta	1
„ Sinigaglia, p. 104	1
„ Cave Bruciate	1
„ Ancona, p. 105	1¼
„ Osimo, p. 108	1½
	17¼

	Posts.
Brought forward	17½
To Loreto	1
„ Recanati, p. 112	¾
„ Sambucheto	¾
„ Macerata, p. 113	1
„ Tolentino, p. 115	1½
„ Valcimara	1
„ Ponte alla Trava	1
„ Serra Valle	1
„ Case Nuove	1
„ Foligno, p. 100	1
„ Rome, as in No. XIV.	12½
	39¾

	Miles.	Hours.
From Bologna to Fano	92	18¾
„ Fano to Rome	205	82½
	297	101¼

XVI.—From Bologna to Rome by the Furlo.

The more direct route of the Furlo, corresponding to a branch of the *Via Flaminia*, leaves the Loreto road at Fano.

To Fano, as above	11½
„ Calcinelli	1
„ Fossombrone, p. 117	1
„ Acqualagna	1
„ Cagli	¾
„ Cantiano	¾
„ La Schieggia	1
„ Sigillo, p. 118	1
„ Gualdo	1
„ Nocera	1
„ Pont Centieme	1
„ Foligno	1
„ Rome, as in No. XIV.	12½
	34½

	Miles.	Hours.
From Bologna to Fano	92	18¾
„ Fano to Rome	180	36¼
	272	55

XVII.—From Rome to Naples.

	Posts.
To Torre de Mezza Via	1½
„ Albano	1
„ Genzano	¾
„ Velletri	1
„ Cisterna	1
„ Torre de' tre Ponti	1½
„ Bocca di Fiume	1
„ Mesa	1
„ Ponte Maggiore	1
„ Terracina	1
„ Fondi	1½
„ Itri	1
„ Mola di Gaeta	1
„ Garigliano	1
„ S. Agata	1
„ Spiranisi	1
„ Capua	1
„ Aversa	1
„ Naples	1
	20¼

	Miles.	Hours.
From Rome to Terracina	69	13½
„ Terracina to Naples	83½	12½
	152½	26

*** By setting out early, the journey may be accomplished in two days, the traveller sleeping at Terracina. Otherwise the stages are, Velletri, Mola di Gaeta, and Naples.

There is another route to Terracina, by Marino and Piperno:—

	Posts.
To Torre de Mezza Via	1½
„ Marino	1
„ Fajola	1
„ Velletri	1
„ Sermoneta	1
„ Case Nuove	1
„ Piperno	¾
„ Maruti	1
„ Terracina	1
	9¼

[69 miles, 12 hours.]

XVIII.—From Naples to Bari and Taranto.

	Posts.	
To Marigliano	1½	
„ Cardinale	1½	
„ Avellino	1½	
„ Dentecane	1½	
„ Grottaminarda	1½	
„ Ariano	1	
„ Savignano	1	
„ Ponte di Bovino	1½	
„ Pozzo Albero	1	
„ Foggia	1	
„ Passo d'Orta	1½	
„ Cirignola	1	
„ S. Casano	1	
„ Barletta	1	
„ Biseglia	1	
„ Giovenazzo	1	
„ Bari	1½	
	21	152 miles.
„ Carbonaja	1	
„ Ceglia	1	

	Posts.	
Brought forward	23	152 miles.
To Casamassima	1	
„ Gioja	1	
„ Taranto	2	52
	27	204

XIX.—From Naples to Brindisi and Otranto.

	Posts.	Miles.
To Bari, as above . . .	21	152
„ Mola	1½	
„ Monopoli	1½	
„ Fasano	1	
„ Ostuni	1½	
„ S. Vito	1½	
„ Mesagno	1½	
„ Brindisi	1	80
	30½	232
To Mesagno, as above . . .	29½	
„ Cellino	1½	
„ Lecce	1½	
„ Martano	1½	
„ Otranto	1½	
	35½	244

XX.—From Naples to Messina.

To Torre de la Nunziata	1½
„ Nocera	1½
„ Salerno	1½
„ Eboli *	2
	6½

* From Eboli, it is 2 posts to Pæstum. The distance from Naples is computed to be 54 Neapolitan miles; and the journey occupies 11¼ hours with four horses.

	Posts.
Brought forward	$6\frac{1}{2}$
To Duchessa	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Auletta	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Sala	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Casalnuovo	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Lagonero	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Lauria	1
„ Castelluccio	1
„ Tarsia	$2\frac{1}{2}$
„ S. Antoniello	2
„ Cosenza	1
„ Rogliano	1
„ Scigliano	1
„ Nicastro	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Fondico del Fico	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Monteleone	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Rosarno	2
„ Seminara	$1\frac{1}{2}$
„ Solarno	1
„ Fiumara *	1
„ Villa S. Giovanne	1
„ Messina, by water	
	$34\frac{1}{2}$

* Reggio is only 1 post from Fiumara; and the traveller may embark at that post.

ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

Pisa—Lucca—Massa—Pistoia—Prato—Leghorn—Siena—The Maremma.

Pisa, once the capital of a republic, the rival of Genoa and Venice, now bears much the same relation to Florence, as Pavia does to Milan, exhibiting, to use Addison's expression, 'the shell of a great city.' Its origin stretches far back into the fabulous age of history. According to a tradition recorded by Strabo, it owed its foundation to some of the followers of Nestor, in their wanderings after the fall of Troy. That it received its present name from Greek colonists, can scarcely be doubted; nor is it improbable, that the ancient capital of Elis in the Olympian plain, was the mother city of the Etrurian Pisa. Both cities might, indeed, take their name from their situation; and *Pisæ* (as the name was generally written) may have simply denoted the meadows of the Arno.* The *Portus Pisanus* was at the mouth of that river. There it was that Scipio landed his

* From the Greek πισος, a marsh or meadow.

army, when returning from the mouths of the Rhone, to oppose Hannibal in Italy; and its harbour was much frequented by the Romans in their intercouse with Sardinia, Gaul, and Spain. Pisa became a colony A. U. C. 572. Strabo speaks of it as having been in former times an important naval station: in his day, it was still a flourishing commercial town, from which were exported large supplies of timber for ship-building, costly marbles, wine, and wheat.*

The rise of Pisa, as a commercial republic, appears to have been contemporaneous with that of Genoa and Lucca; but it soon disappears from history. In 1298, the fleet of the Pisans was destroyed by the Genoese, and the Tuscan navy never recovered from the effects of this calamity. Subsequent wars with Florence weakened the State; but the city sustained a long siege, and was taken by the Florentines, only through the treachery of Gambacorta, the captain-general of the Pisans. This occurred in 1406; from which period, its history is lost in that of Tuscany.

The university of Pisa dates from 1339. For some time after the city became subject to Florence, its schools were suffered to languish; but in 1472, its university was re-established under the auspices of Lorenzo de' Medici. War and pestilence again occasioned it to decline; till, in 1543, it was revived by Cosmo I.; and under his successors, it rose to considerable celebrity. Its

* Cramer's Ancient Italy, vol. i. p. 175.—No vestiges appear to remain of the ancient port, which was a mere road, open to every wind; and the deposits of the Arno must have changed the aspect of the coast.

botanic garden was formed in 1544, only nine years after that of Padua. Its anatomical theatre, established about the same time, is said to have been the first in Europe. It has also an observatory. Though long posterior to Bologna, Pisa was the second school of law in Italy; and its library of 40,000 volumes is full of civil and canonical law, as well as of polemics, metaphysics, the works of the Fathers, and the acts of councils. Among its professors in the seventeenth century were, Galileo, Toricelli, Redi, Malpighi, Borelli, and Castelli, all natives of Italy, but not of Pisa; also, Thomas Dempster, Finch, the Anatomist, and Gronovius. What is highly remarkable, the exclusive spirit which has prevailed in all other universities, is here unknown No religion is proscribed, all degrees, except in divinity and canon-law, being open to heretics and Jews, with whom this city seems always to have abounded.*

Pisa is very beautifully situated on both banks of the Arno, sheltered from the north by a range of hills, and open to rich plains on the south. The river, which is wider here than at Florence, is embanked with stone quays; and a broad street, the boast of the Pisans, extends along it on each side. The walls are nearly five miles in circuit. In the days of its power, it was ‘ celebrated for the strength of its fortifications, its patrician towers, its profusion of marble, and its grave magnificence. It still can boast,’ adds Mr. Forsyth, ‘ some marble churches, a marble palace,

* Cadell, vol. i. pp. 249—252. Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 17–20.

and a marble bridge. Its towers, though no longer a mark of nobility, may be traced in the walls of modernized houses. Its gravity pervades every street, but its magnificence is now confined to one sacred corner. There stand the Cathedral, the Baptistery, the Leaning Tower, and the *Campo Santo;* all built of the same marble, all varieties of the same architecture, all venerable with years, and fortunate both in their society and their solitude.'*

The cathedral is an edifice of the eleventh century; and its architect is supposed, on no very certain data, to have been a Greek. The plan and elevation are basilical. The five aisles are divided by sixty-eight insulated columns, supporting round arches; and four piers support an elliptical cupola. The ceiling is flat, that of the side-aisles alone being vaulted. The choir and the transepts are rounded, like the tribune. These lateral branches give to the plan the form of a Latin cross, but at the expense, Mr. Forsyth thinks, of the unity of the design; and as they do not open entirely into the nave, they have the effect of two additional edifices, rather than of a transept. The columns which divide the side-aisles, are smaller than those of the nave; but each range has varieties. The larger are of granite; of the smaller, some are granite, some marble of various sorts; two or three are fluted, the rest are plain; the smaller ones differ also in height; and it is evident that they are the spoils of more ancient buildings. Some of the capitals are Composite, but more are Corinthian; and

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 9.

these vary in diameter, height, character, and proportion. The bases also vary; but a large plinth at bottom, and a sort of pedestal above the capital, have enabled the architect to spring all his arches from the same height. Above them is a high wall, with small, round-headed windows in the upper part.

'The side altars are beautiful: the high altar is only rich. The pictures, though not much admired,* assist the architecture;' but the sculpture and the tombs Mr. Forsyth finds fault with, as interrupting some of its general lines. The marble pulpit is supported by a naked figure of most gross design. 'Indeed,' remarks this Writer, 'few churches in Italy are free from the incongruous. Here are Bacchanals and Meleager's hunt incrusted on the sacred walls, an ancient statue of Mars, worshipped under the name of St. Potitus, and the heads of satyrs carved on a cardinal's tomb.'

This cathedral is 297 feet in length, and the nave is 108 feet in width, including the aisles. The front is 127 feet in height. The lower part exhibits a range of seven arches, (the central one being larger than the others,) resting on six attached columns and two pilasters. Over these are nineteen smaller arches, which reach to the roof of the side-aisles. Another row, corresponding to these in size, and nearly in height, is cut off on the sides by the sloping roof. Above these, eight

* By Andrea del Sarto, Sodomo, and Pierino del Vaga. Those of Sodomo rank highest, and confer honour on his name. His Sacrifice of Isaac, Mr. Williams says, is delicately conceived, well drawn, and richly coloured.

arches, somewhat higher, form the end of the clerestory; and as many more, diminishing in height towards the sides, occupy the gable or pediment. In the four upper stories, the arches rest on insulated columns. The effect of the whole, Mr. Woods says, is not that of a lofty centre with two lower wings, but of one building finishing in a truncated pediment, surrounded with another smaller one, of which the pediment is entire. The cupola has no great elevation; and the ornaments with which it is crowned, if not the dome itself, Mr. Woods conjectures to have been restorations after a fire in 1596. On some of the columns, lions, foxes, dogs, boars, and men are figured in the capitals; others are of the Greek orders. The general style is too impure to be Greek, yet, remote from the Gothic, and approaching more nearly to the Saxon. It is interesting chiefly as a specimen of a style of architecture which prevailed in this part of Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At the principal portal are three large bronze doors with sculptures in relief by John of Bologna.

Nearly opposite to the western front stands the Baptistery, an immense polygon above 160 feet in diameter, and 176 feet in height. It was built in 1152—4. The whole of what appears to the eye, up to the dome, is of marble. At bottom, there is a circle of twenty three-quarter columns supporting arches; and in the spaces are four richly ornamented door-ways and fifteen small windows. Above these is a second circle of sixty small, detached columns, supporting arches, every two arches being surmounted with a triangular

gable, and between every two gables is a pinnacle. Over this is another story with twenty small windows, each also with its gable, and a buttress in each interval, surmounted with an open shrine or tabernacle. Above all this is a dome; and above the dome, an obtuse cone. Internally, a circle of eight granite columns and four piers support twelve arches, surmounted with a gallery divided in the same manner, but with joined pilasters for piers, instead of columns: above these rises the cone, which is exposed to view internally for its whole height, and is termed by Forsyth, 'a hideous tunnel screening the fine swell of the cupola.' Mr. Woods, however, suspects that the cupola is an addition to the original design, as well as all the pointed ornaments in the pediments of the second order. The dome itself is quite unessential to the rest of the building; and were it taken away, all the important parts would still be complete. The first range of gables, dividing the building into thirty parts, instead of twenty, quite destroys the symmetry and unity of design; and he supposes that the Baptistery originally terminated in a spire, or cone, rising on the inner circuit of arches. The furniture consists of an octagonal pulpit of marble, resting on nine columns, and sculptured in relief; and an octagonal marble font or bath, in the centre of which is a lofty pedestal supporting a statue. The building itself wants finish, and is not well proportioned.*

* Woods, vol. ii. pp. 393—7. Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 9—13. Evelyn mentions as a singular circumstance, that 'the voice uttered under this cupola, seems to break out of a cloud.'

Just behind the Cathedral is the *Campanile*, the famous leaning tower. This singular structure, Mr. Woods tells us, 'would have small pretensions to architectural beauty, were it altogether upright: at present, it is quite as displeasing as it is wonderful.'* He describes it as a cylinder surrounded, on the ground, with a wall adorned with half-columns and arches; and above this, with six stories of columns supporting arches, leaving an open gallery, in each story, between the columns and the wall. Three of these stories follow the same line of inclination as that on the ground; the fourth is a very little rectified; the fifth and sixth are in one line, but form a very perceptible angle with the work below. A seventh story of smaller extent, which crowns the whole, is very nearly erect.

'As to the obliquity of this tower,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'I am surprised that two opinions should still exist on its cause. The Observatory, in the next street, has so far declined from the plumb-line as to affect the astronomical calculations of the place. A neighbouring belfry

* Mr. Forsyth seems to be of the same opinion. 'Here are eight circles of columns supporting arches, which are smaller and more numerous in proportion as you ascend. Such a profusion only betrays that poverty of effect which must ever result from small columns and a multitude of orders.' Mr. Matthews, on the other hand, who thought Milan cathedral an 'ugly, staring thing,' and the churches of Florence 'uninteresting,' styles the Leaning Tower of Pisa, 'a very elegant structure,' and represents the general effect as 'so pleasing, that, like Alexander's wry neck, it might well bring leaning into fashion among all the towers in Christendom.

declines to the same side; and both these evidently from a lapse in the soft soil, in which water springs every where at the depth of six feet. This great tower, therefore, leans only from the same cause, and leans more than they, because it wants the support of contiguous buildings. Many Pisans, however, are of the old opinion. One of their literati took pains to convince me that the German architect contrived this declination, which his Italian successors endeavoured to rectify.' Mr. Simond states, that the holes left for the scaffolding, still visible in the wall, are at right angles with it; which proves the leaning to have been produced subsequently to the construction, by a sinking of the foundation. It is evident, however, that the tower had not been carried up above half way when the settlement took place; and it may be inferred from the statement of the Pisan literati, that, having been abandoned by th original architect, it was finished in the present state by his successors. Owing to this inclination, it seems to have, Mr. Simond says, a spiral gallery winding round it by a gentle ascent, recalling the prints of the Tower of Babel in old Bibles.

The tower is composed of two walls, each two feet thick, one within the other, with an interval of three feet for the stairs leading to each of the galleries and to the top. 'The well in the centre is 22 feet in diameter; and the outside galleries project 7 feet. The whole tower is 50 feet in diameter,* and 190 feet in height. It overhangs 15

* There must be some error here, as the sum of the diameter does not agree with the measurements.

feet;* and, to a spectator looking down from the top, the effect is certainly terrific. As the centre of gravity is within the base 10 feet, the tower may stand perfectly well. Still, its safety depends on the cohesion of the overhanging parts, which must be precarious, especially on account of the heavy bells at the top. Yet, it has stood the shock of earthquakes which have proved fatal to many a perpendicular structure.'† The view from the top is extensive and beautiful, commanding, to the westward, the course of the Arno, winding through fertile plains to the sea, with the little island of Meloria, the spires of Leghorn marking the line of coast across the marshes, and the purple ridge of Montenero beyond. On the other hand are seen the rocky heights and picturesque village of *S. Giuliano di Pisa*, and far distant, the craggy forms and snowy points of the mountains which encircle the Gulf of Genoa.

The *Campo Santo* is a cloistered cemetery constructed in the thirteenth century, to receive a cargo of earth from the Holy Land, which might sanctify the soil.‡ It is an oblong court 383 feet

* Mr. Cadell says: 'The deviation from the perpendicular is 16 feet on the outside, and 12 feet within.'

† Simond, pp. 112—114. Mrs. Starke states, that, in the frescoes of the *Campo Santo*, this Tower is painted *perfectly upright*, but consisting of seven stories only.

‡ Mr. Simond calculates, that, 'as the extent of the *Campo Santo* is rather more than two English acres,' and the holy earth is said to be nine feet deep, 'it would have required almost fifty ships of 300 tons burthen, and perhaps three times that number of such vessels as were then in use, to transport such a heap of sanctified mould. Bodies buried in it are said to be safe from decay.' The con-

by 127, surrounded with arcades of white marble. The arches are round, and every pillar is faced with pilasters; but each arcade (except four) includes an intersection of small arches, rising from slender shafts like the mullions of a Gothic window. This is evidently an addition to the original arcades, which were open down to the pavement. The building is stated to have been completed, under the direction of Giovanni Pisano, in 1283; but another inscription gives the date of 1464 for the completion of the arches, which doubtless applies to this tracery. To introduce it, the old mouldings and ornaments have, in places, been cut away. Under the cloisters are collected many sarcophagi, busts, vases, bas-reliefs, and sculptured marbles, Grecian and Roman, many of them extremely fine. There are also some modern tombs. But the chief interest of the cemetery is derived from the frescoes with which the walls are nearly covered, the work chiefly of Giotto and his pupils, Gozzoli, Rondinelli, and Andrew and Simon Orcagna. For the early period in which they were painted, says Mr. Williams, 'they possess considerable merit. In the works of Benozzo Gozzoli, we may trace a happy choice of nature, expressed with taste and ease. In those too of Buffalmaco, Giotto, Aretino, and Veneziano, several figures are drawn with an ease and freedom which would not discredit a more refined

trary is the prevailing notion. The earth is supposed to have had formerly the power of destroying every animal substance within twenty-four hours. The *Custode* admits, that it now takes a longer time, though a little quick lime would sufficiently answer the purpose.

period of art.' Many parts may be discovered, 'which ancient and modern masters have not scrupled to pass for their own inventions.'

'Throughout this sacred ground,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'Painting preserves the austerity of the Tuscan school; she sometimes rises to its energy and movement; she is no where sparing of figures; and has produced much of the singular, the terrible, and the impressive, but nothing that is truly excellent. All the subjects are taken from Scripture, the Legends, or Dante; but, in depicting the life of a patriarch or a saint, the artists have given us the dress, the furniture, and the humours of their own day.' In the chapel of the cemetery, at one end of the cloister, are some smaller pictures of early date; a Madonna by Cimabue, and a picture by Giovanni Pisano, his master, painted upon leather, and a curious specimen of the infancy of art.*

Among the other churches of Pisa, Mr. Woods mentions as particularly deserving of notice, that of *Sta. Maria della Spina*, close to the river, which was finished about A.D. 1300. 'It is a very rich morsel of Gothic architecture; and if rather heavy, when compared with our best works, is nevertheless an elegant little building.' 'Pisa altogether,' adds this Traveller, 'is a magnificent city, especially in the celebrated *Via lung*'

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 397. Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 14—16. Cadell, vol. i. p. 248. Williams, vol. i. p. 194. Simond, p. 114. Sketches of Italy, vol. iv. p. 68. 'Such cloistered cemeteries as this,' Forsyth remarks, 'were the field where painting first appeared in the dark ages, on emerging from the subterranean cemeteries of Rome.'

Arno; yet, there is little that I could particularize in its domestic architecture. There are some curious old *façades,* and a richly ornamented Gothic front of brick-work in the *Lung' Arno*, part of which, now occupied by the *Caffè dell' Ussaro*, is worth notice.'

Thirteen other churches are enumerated by Mrs. Starke, most of them containing paintings by the early Tuscan masters, for a minute description of which we are referred to Morrona's History of Pisa. That of *S. Matteo,* built by the brothers Melani, is said to be 'remarkable for the frescoes of those artists, which are so skilfully managed as to make the roof appear wonderfully higher than it is.' The subterranean part of *S. Michele in Borgo* has 'a roof curiously ornamented with arabesques, resembling those which adorn Livia's baths at Rome,' and is supposed to be of high antiquity. In the suppressed church of *S. Felice*, which is thought to occupy the site of a Roman temple, are two columns of oriental granite, with capitals curiously ornamented with mythological figures. But the most interesting remain of antiquity is a *sudatorium*, or vapour-bath, in a garden close to the Lucca gate. This is an octagonal edifice with a semi-circular roof, and appears to have been lined with marble. The *Palazzo de' Cavalieri* takes its name from having belonged to the Knights of St. Stephen, an order instituted by Cosmo I., for the defence of the Mediterranean against the Barbary corsairs. The walls and ceiling of the adjacent church of St. Stephen, (commonly called *Chiesa de' Cavalieri,*) are adorned with paintings relating to this order, and with tro-

phies taken by the Knights from the Turks and Moors. This church also contains a very fine and curious organ. Near the palace formerly stood the Tower of Famine, so called from having been the prison of the unhappy Count Ugolino, whose fate has been immortalized by Dante.

The University, styled *La Sapienza*, is a handsome building of white marble. Although reduced to three colleges, it still allots a chair to each faculty. Of the thirty-five professors, five reside at Florence, where there is a subordinate college. The professors have fixed salaries of from 500 to 700 dollars a-year,* but derive no emolument from their lectures, and are precluded from receiving any pupils for private tuition. The expense of education, both at the University and in the public schools, is wholly defrayed by the Government. Yet, the number of students in the University is seldom much above 500; and almost all these are young men whose intended professions require them to have taken their degrees.† 'Not more than two hundred students,' says Mr. Simond, 'attend any one of the lectures; nor is there any hall where a greater number could assemble. Judging from what I saw, the professors are able men, and not wanting in zeal. They seemed to be well acquainted with what is going forward in Europe, respecting the sciences in their several departments. In general science, however, Pisa has declined below the fame of Pavia.'‡

* Their mean salary, in former times, is stated to have been 2000 crowns, when Macchiavel received only 180, as secretary to the Florentine Republic.—Forsyth.

† 'In Tuscany, every attorney's clerk is a doctor.'—*Ib.*

‡ Simond, pp. 115, 16. At the time of the Author's visit

The state of society at Pisa is represented as more relaxed, in point of religion and morals, than at Florence. There is less superstition, but its absence is supplied by nothing better than infidelity and indifference. 'Among the higher ranks of society here,' says Mr. Simond, 'I believe, from all I have heard and seen, that idleness, ignorance, and profligacy form the general character. Every day, I hear disgusting stories of meanness and dirty art in every transaction of life. Foreigners cannot hire a house, or make a bargain of any sort, without being cheated. The theatre belongs to a company of noble Pisans: they manage it themselves, and some of them even play in the orchestra. It is their common practice to ask twice as much at the door from an unsuspecting stranger, as they would ask from a native.* The nobles meet the middle class in mixed society, but do not admit them to their *casini*. Most of the ladies whom we met in mixed parties, were attended by gentlemen pointed out to us as their *cavalieri serventi*. I was told, that the number of women notorious in this way might amount to

to Pisa, (1818) the Professor of Canon Law was engaged on an Italian translation of Gibbon's Decline and Fall, with notes: he had already reached the tenth volume. When Mr. Forsyth travelled, the botanical chair was 'admirably filled by the learned and amiable Santi.' The number of students is stated in Malte Brun's Tables, at 660.

* This is not peculiar to the Pisans. At Bologna, there is one fixed price at the theatres for inhabitants, and another for foreigners. Throughout Italy, every foreigner is considered as a fair object of spoil, but more especially the English.—See Rose's Letters, vol. i. p. 289.

one-fourth.'* Attempts are sometimes made by the natives to parry the condemnation of this infamous custom, by the shallow pretext of pure platonicism, and by referring to fashions and customs in other countries, which are at variance with Italian delicacy or etiquette, yet which are deemed compatible with good morals. Such apologies cannot, however, disguise the prevailing laxity of manners, which is in part the cause, and partly the effect of the system; and Mr. Forsyth's remark is not less just, than pithy, that the 'connexion is generally ludicrous where it is not wicked.'

The population of Pisa is estimated at 20,000, but this does not include, probably, the students and foreign visiters, who in winter are numerous. The Grand Duke generally passes part of the winter here. In the days of its greatest prosperity, Pisa is said to have contained not fewer than 150,000 inhabitants; but this is, perhaps, an exaggeration. About the middle of the twelfth century, the city was supposed to contain 13,400 families; which would give about 67,000 souls. It has been robbed of its population, not so much by Florence as by Leghorn.†

* Simond, pp. 127; 118, 19. The representations of this Traveller are fully borne out by Mr. Forsyth's more severe remarks, vol. ii. pp. 153, 165, 224. The latter gentleman travelled, however, thirty years ago.

† 'The town of Leghorn,' says Addison, 'has accidentally done what the greatest fetch of politics would have found difficult to bring about; for it has almost unpeopled Pisa, if we compare it with what it was formerly; and every day lessens the number of the inhabitants of Florence.'—Remarks, &c. p. 228.

The climate of Pisa, in winter, is considered as vying with that of Rome. The season is fully as mild as an English spring. 'The east wind indeed,' Mr. Forsyth says, 'being screened only by the *Verrucola*, is exceedingly sharp, and freezes at 35°. The south-west, being flat, lies open to the *Libeccio* (south wind), which is therefore more felt than the other winds, and is fully as oppressive on the spirits as the leaden sirocco of Naples. Some Pisans feel the climate colder, and I should suppose it drier too, since the neighbouring Apennines were cleared of their wood... The spring is short, for violent heat generally returns with the leaf. In summer, the mornings are intensely hot; at noon, the sea breeze springs up; the nights are damp, close, suffocating, when not ventilated by the *maëstrale* (north-west wind). Pisa may reverse what physicians say of the capital: "They hardly conceive how people can live at Florence in winter, or how they can die there in summer."'*

Pisa is 42 miles from Florence, 16 miles (two posts) from Leghorn, and 8 miles from the sea. A canal affords a water communication with the modern emporium of Tuscany, which was constructed in the reign of Ferdinand I. The well-

* Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 30, 1. 'Pisa,' says Mr. Matthews, 'will never do after Florence. It is as well to die of consumption as of ennui.' 'If my ladies will not come to Pisa,' the Grand Duke is reported to have said on one occasion, 'I will come alone, rather than die with cold at Florence.' (Three Years in Italy, p. 252.) To escape the dire alternative, the English for the most part prefer wintering at Rome. Dr. Boyd, however, pronounces Pisa to be unquestionably the best place of residence in Italy, or on the Continent, for persons labouring under pulmonary complaints, from October to the end of April

water of Pisa is not fit for drinking; but a modern aqueduct, begun under the same sovereign, conveys excellent water from the village of Asciano four miles from Pisa. Eight arches of an ancient aqueduct, ascribed to the Emperor Nero, are found near the Baths of *San Giuliano di Pisa*, about three miles and a half to the north of the city; and traces of its course are discoverable between tha. village and the Lucca gate.

About an hour's drive from Pisa, on the coast, the Grand Duke has a *casina* or farm, situated in the midst of an extensive forest of evergreen oak (*quercus ilex*), which covers great part of a flat, sandy tract between the cultivated land and the sea.* The nature of the soil precludes cultivation, except on a very small part, but affords a vast extent of thin pasture, where immense herds of horned cattle range at large, with merino sheep, wild horses, and nearly two hundred camels. The latter, it was one of the schemes of the enterprising and patriotic Leopold, to naturalise in Italy; and the attempt may be considered as having partially succeeded.† From this stock, all the showmen of Europe have been supplied. They buy these animals at four years old, for 40 or 50 sequins each (20*l*. or 25*l*). They are, however, much less numerous than they were twenty years ago; and, whether owing to mismanagement or not, the breed appears to be on the decline. They are employed

* Considerable tracts are almost covered with the *scrapias cordigera*.

† 'The Asiatic race of camels,' M. Chateauvieux, however, asserts, 'has existed in this region from the time of the Crusades: they were brought hither by a Grand Prior of Pisa, of the order of St. John.'—Chateauvieux, p. 91.

here as beasts of burden, and carry daily to Pisa, loads of wood weighing 1200 lbs. In a country where civilization has not reached so far as to supersede the labour of porters ('human camels') by wheel-carriages, where even the hand-cart and the wheel-barrow are apparently unknown, and numbers of half-naked people may be met carrying enormous loads of wood to market,* the naturalization of these useful animals would seem to be peculiarly desirable. The woods are infested by large red ants, which are very annoying to the traveller. Some of the trees measure twelve feet in circumference. The scenery presents not much variety or beauty; yet, 'tired as we were,' says Mr. Simond, 'with vineyards and corn-fields, meagre olive-groves, and stunted poplars, the aspect of woods and pasture pleased us as something like nature out of prison: the fine mountains over Lucca relieve the flatness of the immediate landscape.'†

The road from Pisa to Lucca, (an agreeable excursion of twelve miles,) lies across the fertile plains to the ridge of mountains which shelter the former city on the north, and in which are found the extensive marble quarries that have supplied its architects with their rich materials. The lower slopes of these mountains are partially covered with olive-trees. Higher up are chestnut-trees and pines: the latter are all small, being periodically cut for small timber and for fuel.‡

* This is probably owing, not to sheer ignorance, but greatly to prejudice. No Spanish porter will use a wheel-barrow, or *draw* a load.

† Simond, pp. 120—1.

‡ The pines (*p. pinea*) are felled chiefly for oars, which is

At the foot of this craggy ridge stand the village and baths of *S. Giuliano;* a fashionable watering-place, which affords, from May to August, an agreeable retreat from the city. The Baths, which are Government property, are elegantly fitted up, with lodging-houses, a pump-room, card-rooms, and every accommodation for hot, tepid, or cold bathing. The springs are of different temperature, from 95° to 104°; and several other springs rise in the neighbourhood, which are just sensibly warm to the touch. The water is clear and tasteless. The little river Serchio runs along the road; and there is a handsome pleasure-boat on it for the use of the company at the Baths. These waters formerly enjoyed a high reputation for their efficacy in both arthritic and hepatic diseases. They are not so much frequented now, we are told, the Baths of Lucca being more in fashion, as having much the advantage in point of picturesque situation, though at a less convenient distance from the accommodations of a city.*

About five miles from *S. Giuliano*, the road, winding along at the foot of the mountains, leads to the picturesque village of Ripa Fratta, the Tuscan boundary.† A ruined Gothic fortress,

the great staple. After the wood-cutters come the charcoal-makers; and since the establishment of some iron-foundries in the adjacent valleys towards Modena, the natural reproduction falls far short of the waste. Nor are any means taken to supply it, though it seems to be agreed that the wasteful character of the torrents is very much increased by the destruction of the woods.—Woods, vol. ii. p. 416.

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 398. Pennington, vol. i. p. 442.

† The name indicates, Forsyth remarks, 'how little the proudest embankments can resist the Serchio, when its floods are repelled by a south wind.'

said to have been erected by the Countess Matilda, crowns a rocky eminence at one end of the village, which is situated on the banks of the small but rapid Serchio. A mile further, the traveller enters the Lucchese territory. On passing the frontier, a change of national feature may be observed, and a costume distinct from the Pisan. 'All the women,' says Forsyth, 'were slip-shod; their dress precisely alike, the colour scarlet.' On entering and on leaving this petty State, the traveller has to submit to all the formalities of a search from the *doganieri*, or must purchase an exemption from the annoyance.

The Dutchy of Lucca comprises a territory of 54 square geographical leagues, containing, besides the capital, one town (Via Reggio) with 2000 inhabitants,* and a total population (in 1826) of 143,000 souls. The revenue of the State is estimated at 82,000*l.*,—less than that of many an English nobleman; and the whole area is considerably smaller than the county of Hertford, but with a denser population. It is, in fact, by far the most populous and best cultivated district of Italy.

* At Via Reggio, the only port possessed by the Government of Lucca, (or rather the only place on the shore, for it cannot be called a port,) travellers proceeding from Pisa to Genoa had formerly to embark, there being no carriage road between Pisa and Lerici, prior to the year 1824. A wide, marshy tract and a strip of sand here separate the mountains from the sea. The sand is in great measure covered with wood, which, immediately south of Via Reggio, consists principally of the *pinus pinaster*. There is a considerable lake here, on the borders of which, at a place called Massa Ciuccoli, at the foot of the hills, are remains of baths, which have probably belonged to some Roman villa.—See Woods, vol. ii. p. 415.

Addison gives a very favourable representation of its general aspect at the commencement of the eighteenth century, when it still boasted of the name and independence of a Republic. ‘ It is very pleasant,’ he says, ‘ to see how the small territories of this little Republic are cultivated to the best advantage, so that one cannot find the least spot of ground that is not made to contribute its utmost to its owner.* In all the inhabitants, there appears an air of cheerfulness and plenty, not often to be met with in those of the countries which lie about them. It is pleasant to hear the discourse of the common people of Lucca, who are firmly persuaded that one Lucchese can beat five Florentines, who are grown low-spirited, as they pretend, by the Great Duke's oppressions, and have nothing worth fighting for. They say, they can bring into the field twenty or thirty thousand fighting men, all ready to sacrifice their lives for their liberty. They have quantity of arms and ammunition, but few horse. It must be owned, these people are more happy, at least in imagination, than their neighbours, because they think themselves so; though such a chimerical happiness is not peculiar to republicans, for we find the subjects of the most absolute prince in Europe, are as proud of their monarch, as the Lucchese are of being subject to none ’†

Lucca dates its political independence from the

* ‘ This little State is so populous, that very few acres, and those subject to inundation, are allotted to each farmer on the plain. Hence their superior skill in agriculture and draining; hence that variety of crops on every inclosure, which gives to the vale of Serchio the economy and show of a large kitchen-garden.’—Forsyth.

† Addison's Remarks, pp. 231, 3. Evelyn describes the

death of the Countess Matilda in 1115; but it has, at different periods, been subject to the Florentines, the Pisans, and foreign potentates. Lewis of Bavaria erected it into a dutchy about 1316. In 1330, together with Milan, Pavia, Parma, and Modena, it acknowledged for its sovereign the King of Bohemia; but his dominion in Italy was of short duration. To so low an ebb were the fortunes of Lucca reduced in the fourteenth century, that the sovereignty of it was put up to auction by a troop of German deserters, and bought by Gherardino Spinola of Genoa. The first private wars among the free cities of Italy broke out in Tuscany, between Pisa and Lucca. 'Tyrant never attacked tyrant with more exterminating fury,' remarks Mr. Forsyth, 'than these republics, the hypocrites of liberty, fought for mutual inthralment.' In the history of their rise, their civil contests, and their fall, the Tuscan commonwealths exhibit a remarkable analogy to that of the States of ancient Greece. 'In both countries,' continues this elegant writer, 'the Republics emerged from small principalities; they shook off the yoke by similar means; and they ended in a common lord who united them all. In both, we shall find a crowded population and a narrow territory; in both, a public magnificence disproportionate to their power; in both, the same nursing love of literature and the arts, the same nice and fastidious taste, the same ambitious and excluding purity of language. Viewed as repub-

inhabitants of Lucca as 'exceedingly civil to strangers, above all places in Italy; and they speak the purest Italian... The ladies here are very conversable, and the religious women not at all reserved.'—Evelyn, vol. i. p. 173

lics, the Tuscans and the Greeks were equally turbulent within their walls, and equally vain of figuring among foreign sovereigns; always jealous of their political independence, but often negligent of their civil freedom; for ever shifting their alliances abroad, or undulating between ill-balanced factions at home. In such alternations of power, the patricians became imperious, the commons blood-thirsty, and both so opposite, that nothing but an enemy at the gates could unite them. But in no point is the parallel so striking as in their hereditary hatred of each other.'* . . .

'Every city in Tuscany, having once been a separate republic, still considers itself as a nation distinct from the rest, and calls their inhabitants foreigners.' To these divisions may justly be imputed, as one main cause, the debasement of the national character. They have spread, Mr. Rose remarks, 'a wretched, illiberal tone of thinking and feeling, and taught the lower Italians to consider each other much as the Arabian tribes regard those who are not of the same lineage and kindred.'† They have afforded at once excite-

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 36.—So far as the lights of history serve us, this has been equally the fortune of all municipal republics,—of Thebes, Memphis, and Sais; of Palibothra, Mathura, and Oude; of Carthage, Cyrene, and Barca; and, in modern times, of Ghent and Bruges, and other cities of the Continent.

† Rose, vol. i. p. 289.—Some curious illustrations are furnished by this Writer, of the provincial and sectional animosities cherished by all the divisions of Italy. The favourite maid of a Roman lady left her service, because she found herself growing attached to her mistress, 'and it should never be said, that a Tivolese had loved a Roman!'

ment and protection to crimes both of force and fraud; and have opposed the most formidable obstacles to every species of moral and political melioration.

In 1805, Lucca was constituted a principality by Napoleon, over which he placed Pascal Bacciochi, who had married his sister. The Princess, Mr. Williams tells us, ' was greatly beloved. Roads, bridges, and many other improvements, were made at her command; and the principality of Lucca became a paradise.' In 1813, it was invaded by the Austrians, and Bacciochi was expelled. In 1815, it was again converted into a dutchy by the Congress of Vienna, and granted as an indemnity to the Ex-Queen of Etruria .By the same august Partitioners of Europe, its eventual annexation to Tuscany was provided for; an arrangement which, how unpalatable soever to the Lucchese, can scarcely be a just matter of regret, its nominal independence being of little or no positive advantage.

Lucca itself is a handsome city, containing about 22,000 inhabitants. It stands in a flat plain, which has very much the appearance of having once been a lake, and great part of it is still liable to inundation, if the Serchio breaks its banks. The city is surrounded with walls, which would form, however, but a very feeble defence against an enemy. The towers of the churches, rising above the ramparts, have a fine effect in the rich and beautiful landscape, the view being bounded by vine-clad hills, spotted with villas, over which tower the craggy Apennines.

On a nearer inspection, the public buildings are

less pleasing in their architecture than in their distant effect;* yet, many of them are very curious structures. All the churches, Mr. Woods says, are more or less imitations of the cathedral of Pisa; smaller, indeed, in size, but some of them are decidedly superior in the proportions and disposition of the parts. The Cathedral of Lucca (dedicated to St. Martin) 'would not be destitute of external beauty, were not its architecture frittered away in numberless unmeaning arches.' Such is the criticism of Mr. Williams. In the opinion of Mr. Woods, had the design been completed, 'it would have formed the finest example of any in which this style of architecture was fully displayed.' But the style itself may not be thought admirable. In front, is a porch of three large semi-circular arches, resting on piers which are adorned with small shafts. Within this porch, which is painted in fresco, is a range of smaller arches, three of which are occupied with door-ways. Each doorway has an enormous architrave enriched with figures, and a cornice. Above the three large arches of the porch, are three ranges of smaller arches, resting on little columns variously ornamented. The upper range extends only as far as the front of the clerestory. It was probably intended, Mr. Woods thinks, to add a gable ornamented in the same manner with columns and arches; but, as it is, the edifice terminates abruptly.

* 'It seems extraordinary,' says M. Chateauvieux, 'that this city should not have a single Italian feature. Its crooked streets, its pointed roofs, the irregularity of its buildings, give it a resemblance to a Flemish city.'—Chateauvieux, p. 83.

There is a great deal of carving and of inlaying of black and white marble over the whole. In the interior, the arches of the nave rest on grouped pilasters; and each arch supports two well-proportioned arches above, which have been filled in with tracery: this, however, is an addition. Some obtusely pointed arches are introduced, and the windows of the aisles are narrow and pointed; but, in general, the arches are semi-circular. The pavement of the cathedral is, in many parts, of mosaic. Among its treasures are, a large piece of the True Cross; the relics of St. Hilarius and other 'famous martyrs;' an equestrian statue of St. Martin, the tutelar saint; a Madonna, by Fra. Bartolommeo, and some pictures by artists of the Venetian school.* There is also a rich display of painted glass. The church is said to have been built in the eleventh century; but the portico was added between 1204 and 1233, and the choir was not completed till the year 1320.

The church of *S. Michele* is another interesting specimen of the same whimsical species of architecture. The building is said to have existed in the year 778: the *façade*, however, is probably not much earlier than that of the cathedral. It is very lofty, and exhibits seven arches in the basement, fourteen in each of the two next stories, which reach to the roof; and above these rise two

* To the right of the great door is seen the tomb of Adalbert, surnamed *Il Ricco*, the progenitor, according to Muratori, of the House of Este, and consequently of that of Brunswick; and the ancestor of the warlike Countess Matilda, who, in the eleventh century, maintained for thirty years a successful contest with the German Emperors.

ranges of six arches, belonging apparently to the clerestory, but forming in fact, a mere screen. The whole is finished with a sloping roof, surmounted with a gilt colossal figure of the Archangel Michael: the quill feathers in the wings are, it is said, made to turn in the sockets, in order to offer less resistance to the wind. Internally, the nave is formed by columns supporting arches, above which is a high, plain wall with small windows, forming a singular constrast to the rich decorations of the exterior.

Another curious old church, of earlier date than either of these, is *San Frediano*.* The monastery to which it belongs, was restored and enriched, towards the close of the seventh century, by Faulone, *major-domo* to Cunipert, king of the Lombards. Frequent notices both of the monastery and the church occur in the succeeding centuries, but nothing to indicate that the latter has been ever rebuilt or materially altered. It is thus described by Mr. Woods. 'The lower division of the front is nearly square and perfectly plain, except at the door, which has very wide pilasters and an ornamented architrave, and there is a low, arched opening immediately above it. A range of little Ionic half-columns supporting an architrave, occur over this plain surface. Two very small windows are observed in this division. The third contains one high, narrow, and pointed

* In the church of *S. Frediano* lies the corpse of St. Richard, an English king, who died there on his pilgrimage to Rome, as the Latin epitaph on his tomb certifies. But who this King Richard was, it has long baffled the wisdom of antiquaries to determine. See Evelyn's Mem. vol. i. p. 173.

window, and on each side of it, a row of figures on a gold, mosaic ground. The fourth story, which rises into a gable, is also ornamented with a mosaic, of which the ground is gold, representing the Saviour, with an angel on each side, worshipping him. This front has been attributed to an Abbot Rosone, who lived in the twelfth century; but the style of the lower part is so similar to that of the body of the edifice, that I am inclined to believe it coeval with the rest, and to limit the Abbot's praise to the erection of the upper part with the pointed window and the mosaics. The use of these little columns as ornaments, dates at least as early as the time of Diocletian. The side-aisles, being double, form very wide wings, each having a door of the same style as that in the centre, and two circular windows, unequal in size and situation, but alike in the two wings. Internally, arches upon columns of granite and *cipollino*, support a lofty, plain wall with small windows. The great height of this flat surface is, perhaps, always the defect of this style of building, but the light so obtained is very pleasant. There is no transept; but a semi-circular recess (or *apsis*) for the ancient choir, exists in this and in each of the other churches.'*

Sta. Maria foris Portam is more exactly in the Pisan style of architecture. The front is composed of seven arches resting on half-columns and pilasters, with three square door-ways, and a low, arched recess over each: above which, are two ranges of arches on detached columns, and a cir-

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 41.

cular window in the gable, which is of brick-work, and unfinished. *S. Giusto* exhibits a similar style, but is distinguished by the ponderous magnificence of its three door-ways: the central one is richly carved, and the arch over the door rests upon two animals. *S. Cristoforo* ' exhibits one of the best proportioned of these fronts. It is striped horizontally with gray and white marble. There are five arches below, and none above, excepting some small ornamental ones under the raking cornices, which resemble those of Lombardy, and a rose window in the clerestory.'*

Should these architectural details appear tedious to any of our readers, unaccompanied as they are with graphic illustration, let it be recollected, how much of history is conveyed by these monuments of wealth and art,—the land-marks, to a certain degree, of reviving civilization. The period to which these edifices must be assigned, extends from the beginning of the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century; and several of the village churches about Lucca, bear marks of having been erected at the same era. This would seem, then, to mark the most prosperous days of the Republic

* Woods, vol. ii. pp. 411, 412. ' The church of *Sta. Maria*,' Mr. Pennington says, ' has several good pictures by eminent masters, among others, by Guido Reni.' Mrs. Starke says: The *chiesa di Sta. Maria dell' Umilta*, contains a good picture by Titian. That of *S. Pongiano* is also said to be ornamented with paintings by Pietro Lombardo. In that of *San Romano*, is a painting by Guido, The Crucifixion, which Mr. Williams pronounces to be ' unaffected in colouring, and in drawing accurate and expressive. For a picture by Bartolommeo, he ' cannot say so much.

The *Palazzo Pubblico*, built by Ammanato and Filippo Giuvara, is described by Mr. Forsyth as an 'immense and august edifice which makes the city round it look little; yet, only half the original design is completed. No longer the residence of the *gonfaloniere*,* it bears a deserted and vacant aspect. In its present decline (1802),' he adds, 'I remarked through the city, an air of sullen, negligent stateliness, which often succeeds to departed power; a ceremonious gravity in the men, a sympathetic gloominess in the houses, and the worst symptom that any town can have,—silence.' The proud inscription, *Libertas*, which was once to be seen over the Pisa gate, no longer exists; and the old gate has been replaced by an elegant Doric archway.

There is a large and handsome royal palace in the *Piazza Reale*, the superb furniture of which was all made at Lucca, and the ceilings and walls are adorned with frescoes by Lucchese artists. Lucca contains a seminary, founded by the Princess Elise, for the education of a hundred young ladies; and she had taken measures for establishing an Institute for the encouragement of the arts and sciences, when she was called upon to resign the sovereignty. There is a small but pretty theatre. Obscure remains of a Roman amphitheatre are discoverable near the *Prigioni Vecchie;* but they are scarcely sufficient to vouch either for its own size, or for the ancient importance of a city in which

* It is now the residence of the Austrian commandant. It contains paintings by Giordano, Guercino, and Albert Durer.

Cæsar repeatedly established his head-quarters, during his command in the two Gauls.* The ramparts, which still attest the magnificence of the Republic, three miles in circuit, afford a delightful promenade, commanding a pleasing variety of views of the city itself, the fertile plain and its impetuous river, the wood-clad hills and craggy summits of the Apennines.

In Italy, every city has its characteristic title; and that of Lucca is not the least honourable, *Lucca l' Industriosa.*† The Lucchese are said to have been the first people who introduced into Italy the silk-trade, by the cultivation of the silk-worm.‡ As early as 1319, according to Denina, the trade flourished among them, and the mulberry-tree had become an object of public care. The Lucca oil has been reckoned the best in Europe. And as the Lucchese bear the character of being the most industrious people of southern Italy, and the most skilful husbandmen, they are said to be also distinguished by their probity, and by a stronger sense of religion than their neighbours. The peasantry of the mountains, in particular, are characterized by their honesty and cheerful industry. The rector of the parish in which the Baths of Lucca are situated, told some English travellers,

* Cramer, vol. i. p. 173. *Luca* was colonized, A. U. C. 575. It was also a municipal town. Its river was anciently called the *Ausar*.

† These epithets have been current for centuries, but we know not with whom they originated. Thus we have also, *Milano la Grande; Genova la Superba; Padova la Dotta; Venezia la Ricca; Bologna la Grassa; Ravenna l' Antica; Firenze la Bella; Roma la Santa; Napoli la Gentile.*

‡ Sismondi. *Tableau de l'Agric. Tosc.* p. 50.

that, in the course of a twenty years' residence among his parishioners, above 800 in number, he had never heard of the commission of one theft, nor had known of more than three children born out of wedlock.* Like the inhabitants of many other parts of the Apennines, they live chiefly upon chestnut bread ; and when the crop fails, they are exposed to dreadful privations.

M. Sismondi, in his valuable ' Picture of Tuscan Agriculture,' represents the peasantry of Tuscany in general, especially those of the hills, as in a very depressed and wretched condition, annually consuming the whole produce of their industry, and never thinking of laying up a provision for a bad year. ' In the State of Lucca,' he continues, ' where the condition of the peasants is still harder, where they have for their labour only the third of the oil-harvest, instead of the half, (as elsewhere,) and where the rate at which they are to sell their other commodities to their master, is most commonly fixed below the market price, the cultivators receive no advance from the proprietors ; but the Republic itself has established a bank, which furnishes them every week the grain they want, placing it to their account, without interest; so that the State whose laws are, on the one hand, so little in their favour, appears to be, on the other, incessantly occupied with providing for their subsistence, and ever ready to make sacrifices for their support. This bank is an absolute illusion to the Lucchese peasants. Their masters, who have

* Starke.

established it, find it turn to good account; but it is still more useful to the Government, which holds by this means in absolute dependence all the country people, and ensures their obedience, not merely by fear, but also by affection. Yet, the politician, on turning his eyes to the Tuscan peasants, their neighbours, sees that the latter are more fairly dealed with, every year, at the time of harvest; that, in the season of want, they require neither interest nor protection to obtain advances from their masters; and that the pretended munificence of the Republic towards its own people, is merely a restitution of what is their due.

'By means of this circulation of small debts and annual re-imbursements, a numerous population lead a cheerful life without solicitude, although without ever losing sight of their last morsel of bread. Every day, the husbandman is reduced to buy the day's provision. Very rarely is he found in possession of a reserve of corn; still more rarely, of oil or of wine. The former has been sold in the press, and the latter in the tub. Never has he any provision of salt meat, butter, cheese, or vegetables. All their kitchen utensils are of earthenware; and their whole furniture consists of a table and some wooden chairs, one or two chests, and an indifferent bedstead, on which the father and mother sleep with their feet in one direction, and the children with their feet against the head-board. Thus, when the division under General Vatrain ravaged, in 1799, the districts of the *Val di Nievola*, the peasantry derived this advantage from their indigence, that when they had concealed their

clothes and the gold trinkets of their women, they had scarcely any thing left to lose.'*

The mountaineers, who depend almost entirely upon the cultivation of the chestnut, are represented as being, however, in better circumstances than the peasantry of the hills and plains. The greater part of them, M. Sismondi says, are proprietors of their forests, not sharing the produce with any master, or paying any rent.† The inhabitants of the districts of Pontito and Shiappa are in particular distinguished by their robust and healthy appearance, notwithstanding that they subsist chiefly on chestnut flour, and by the beautiful complexion and regular features of the women. This last circumstance is the more remarkable, as during great part of the year, like the Comasque women,‡ they have to sustain the whole burden of domestic labour, while their husbands, fathers, and brothers descend into the Tuscan Maremma and the States of the Church, in search of harvest work. Of the labourers who venture to pass the summer in those

* Sismondi, *Tableau*, &c. pp. 212—214.

† Where the mountains are rented, the landlord receives *two-thirds* of the chestnuts collected, and *half* of the other crops. Starke, p. 125. Mr. Forsyth speaks of the depressed condition of the peasantry, 'who must render up to their landlord two-thirds of the produce, and submit to whatever price he may fix on the remainder.' But his remarks apply chiefly to the vale of Serchio. 'Even the little that is left to their own disposal,' he adds, 'they cannot sell at home. Their very milk, they must export every morning to a foreign state like Pisa.' This was in 1802.

‡ See page 341 of our first volume. Lucca, like Como, sends forth a portion of its redundant population as itinerant hawkers. The venders of plaster-casts, are said to come chiefly from this neighbourhood.

pestilential districts, very few escape disease; but these mountaineers seldom venture into the Maremma till after the first rains of October have purified the air, and return in May, or, at latest, as soon as the June crop has been reaped. The money which they never fail to bring back from these expeditions, they employ in improving their little possessions.

All the inhabitants of these mountains are collected into little towns; a circumstance which at once contributes to make their numbers appear more considerable than they really are, and renders their life much more comfortable than it could be, were they to remain isolated in the midst of their woods and rocks. These villages, or *castelli*, which are almost always situated above some stream, and generally with a southern aspect, exhibit, both in their construction and in the paved roads, the marks of a people once rich and industrious, but who have been deprived, since they were built of the only sufficient incentive to labour. The houses are built of good and strong masonry, several stories in height, with spacious rooms and tiled or slated roofs. The villages are always surrounded with good and strong walls; and the streets, though neither elegant nor commodious, are well adapted for defence. But this construction is the work of an age of liberty and industry. The walls are now falling to ruin; the pavement of the streets is in so bad a state, that you cannot traverse them without danger of accidents; the interior of the houses is empty and naked, the proprietor being reduced to occupy only a part of the edifice; and far from building new houses, in

the villages nearest to the plains, the old ones are frequently pulled down for the sake of their materials, which are sold to the inhabitants of the level country.* As to the villages situated in the heart of the Apennines, and not at the entrance of the mountains, a good house, consisting of twelve or fourteen apartments, may be bought for 50 crowns, and the best may be rented for a few pounds. The paved roads, which were never practicable for carriages, not having been repaired for two or three hundred years, still serve to indicate the route, but at the same time render it the more dangerous.†

'As long as the Republics of Italy preserved their liberty,' continues M. Sismondi, 'commerce and agriculture advanced with equal steps towards a prosperity ever on the increase, notwithstanding their wars and revolutions. But, when wealth had consummated the corruption of morals, and introduced tyranny, a pestilential influence seemed to give the death-blow to all the resources of the State. Manufactures were extinguished together with the spirit of emulation; commerce was dried up at its source; while contagion, traversing the provinces, laid the husbandmen in the grave, and annihilated the rising generation, by inspiring parents with horror at the idea of bringing up their

* M. Sismondi instances the '*bourgade*' of Stignano, and says, that those of Uzzano and Buggiano were in the way to share a similar fate. The depopulation of the *Val Mugello* and the upper valley of the Arno, dates from the wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and may partly be ascribed to the taste for *brigandage* which the peasants acquired in those days of violence.

† Sismondi, pp. 228—232.

children to slavery and suffering All Italy fell to ruin.*

The progress of desolation was in great measure arrested by the efforts of the Medicean princes. Agriculture revived under their patronage, though at the expense of commerce, for all the great capitalists became transformed into nobles and territorial proprietors. In later times, the enterprise and sagacity of Leopold restored the whole of that part of Tuscany which is to the north of the Arno, to nearly the state of agricultural prosperity to which it had attained in the days of Cosmo, *Pater Patriæ*. But the condition of the country was widely different. It is not agriculture, remarks M. Sismondi, that has ever enriched Italy. It was not to agriculture, but to freedom and commerce, that the Italian Republics owed their wealth and magnificence. 'Agriculture can augment capital, and become a source of national wealth, only when the peasantry are accumulating property; and this can take place only where they are at once cultivators and proprietors.'† Such is the explanation which the able and learned Historian of the Italian Republics gives of the present fallen condition of the nation; and such the instructive lesson it suggests. On comparing these observations with the historical reflections of Mr. Forsyth, above cited, on the rise and fall of the Tuscan Republics, the reader will have both sides of the subject; and if his admiration of their polity and internal condition should be somewhat lessened, by perceiving how opposed they were to the national improve-

* Sismondi, p. 288. † Ib. pp. 293—297.

ment, he will not the less regret that the traces of their mutual animosity alone survive, while the public spirit which animated and ennobled them, seems to have fled for ever. Italy, on ceasing to be commercial, ceased to be free.

Lucca is now visited by the Traveller, either as lying in the route from Florence to Genoa, or on account of its celebrated Baths. These Baths, distant from Lucca between twelve and thirteen miles, are very beautifully situated in the heart of the mountains. The route winds up the romantic valley of the Serchio, the banks of which are sometimes formed by perpendicular or overhanging masses of rock; sometimes clothed with rich woods, in which the dark, spiral cypress is occasionally seen shooting up amid the brighter foliage of the chestnut-tree and oak; and here and there, the curling smoke from scattered cottages, gives an English feature to the landscape. Two most picturesque but apparently useless bridges cross the Serchio within a short distance from each other; the *Ponte Mariana* and *Ponte della Maddalena*. The former consists of two immensely high, narrow arches, not in a straight line with each other, but forming in the centre a considerable angle; and between the two, the narrow road descends to an intermediate pier, nearly level with the banks from which the bridge springs: it is thus exactly like two little steep bridges joined together. The *Ponte della Maddalena* is still more irregular and picturesque. It consists of three or four small arches, terminating, at one end, with a steep, high, pointed arch, like those which form the other bridge. Both are too narrow and too steep to

facilitate the passage of any description of carriage; and their origin and antiquity are unknown.* Higher up, the valley widens and decreases in beauty, the hills becoming bare as they recede from the river, which, though in summer a mere babbling brook, is increased in winter to a destructive torrent. At length, the road quits the Serchio, and winds up the course of the Lima, a smaller stream, near the banks of which the Lower Baths, called *Bagni della Villa,* are situated.

Almost all travellers speak in glowing terms of the beauty of the situation. 'Never, perhaps,' says a pleasing writer, 'was watering-place so rural and so secluded. A bridge crosses the stream, with a little village at its extremity; the hot baths are perched upon the hill above; and about a mile higher up, the tepid baths, with their lodging-houses, are beautifully seated in a rural amphitheatre among the hills. Small, irregular-shaped meadows border the brawling brook; groves of oak and chestnut-tree clothe the tops of the highest hills; and the snowy summits of the Apennines close the scene.'† Mr. Woods, however, (who

* Sketches, &c. vol. iv. p. 78. Mrs. Starke mentions a third bridge, consisting of only one large arch, which is by far the loftiest; and adds, that, according to tradition, they were erected by the Countess Matilda early in the eleventh century. About four or five miles from Lucca, on the route to these Baths, is a beautiful villa called *Marlia,* built by the Princess Elise.

† Sketches, &c. vol. iv. p. 79. 'What language can describe the scenes,' says Mr. Williams, 'which the Baths and the neighbouring buildings on the mountains commaud? The man of taste and feeling will miss a luxurious feast, if he visit not the vale and the Baths of Lucca.'—Williams, vol. i. p. 244.

happened to visit the spot in rainy weather,) speaks of the immediate situation of the Baths as having little to recommend it. They stand 'among steep slopes and narrow valleys, partially cultivated with vines and olives; but the whole seems taken out of an immense forest of chestnut-trees, which extends for many miles in all directions. It has all the appearance of a native forest; yet I was assured,' he adds, 'that each tree had been grafted; and, on examination, there seemed sufficient proof of this assertion, though some of them are five or six feet in diameter. Two streams, the Lima and the Camaglione, meet at the foot of a small, but steep hill, which is connected by a very narrow ridge with the general mass. Four sets of warm springs rise from this peninsulated hill; the lowest at an elevation of perhaps a hundred feet above the junction of these streams; the highest at not less than two hundred and fifty feet. The temperature of the hottest is 128° or 129° of Fahrenheit. The soil is everywhere a micaceous grit, except at one point, where we see a calcareous rock, accompanied with a breccia of rounded pebbles, the cement of which is also calcareous, dipping rapidly under the hill.'*

At a short distance from these Baths, there is an elevated spot, called *Prato Fiorito*, which affords a very rich harvest to the botanist, and, during the month of June, presents a parterre of almost un-

* Woods, vol. ii. pp. 413, 14. Mr. Simond states, that the temperature of these springs is as high as 60° Reaumur, or 167° Fahr. It is reported as 'a singular fact, that serpents are frequently found in the baths, though the pipes appear too small to admit them.'—Sketches, &c. vol. iv. p. 80.

rivalled beauty. It is a high, sloping meadow of close turf, intermixed with mosses, and embellished with a profusion of cowslips (which are here rarities), gentianella (*g. acaulis*), narcissus (*n. poeticus*), and, at a later period, the martagon lily, common peony, and other showy plants. The meadow occupies the summit of a limestone mountain, called *Monte a Celle*, and in winter is frequently covered with snow.* On the south-east, it is precipitous, and some of the neighbouring mountains are very craggy, while higher ridges are seen beyond. The view, Mr. Woods says, 'is quite Apennine, exhibiting steep slopes and sharp ridges, without the solid masses which characterize the Alps.' Another head of the same mountain bears the name of *Monte Coronata*, probably from a thick bed of chert, which forms a crest near its summit, and is partially covered with what appears to be a red marl, sometimes containing a dark red jasper. At the foot of the *Prato*, there is a spring of good water.

The season for these Baths, is July and August; but June and September are perhaps more favourable for exploring the beauties of the scenery. The spot is considered as 'one of the coolest summer abodes in southern Italy.'†

From Lucca, the traveller may either return by

* Mr. Woods says, that snow lies on it very little even in the winter; from which he infers, that the elevation does not exceed 4000 feet. Mr. Simond, however, found snow remaining in several places late in June, and concludes that the mountain cannot be less than 6000 or 7000 feet.

† For all further needful details respecting the lodging-houses, provisions, excursions, &c., *vide* Mrs. Starke, ch. v.

way of Pescia and Pistoia to Florence; or cross the mountains by a new road to Modena; or proceed to Massa, Carrara, and Lavenza, the route to Genoa.

The Modena route, Mr. Woods describes as, of all the passes of the Apennines practicable for carriages, the most interesting to a naturalist. The limestone formation, taking various directions, sometimes vertical, sometimes horizontal, is, in the upper beds, ' interstratified with a red, jaspery substance,' while the higher parts of the mountains are formed of a solid micaceous grit. At Ghivizzano, a short distance from the road, in the valley of the Serchio, there has been found a bed of lignite about two feet in depth, under a bed of coarse gravel. The highest point in this part of the Apennines is, *Monte Cimone* (or *Il Cimone di Fanano*), which is hardly ever free from snow, and is nearly 7000 feet in elevation.* It advances a little north from the general range, and, on the Modena side, towers over all the rest. The road from Pistoia to Modena, which joins the road from Lucca a few miles beyond the summit of the pass, is much less interesting, but has the accommodation of a tolerable inn, which the other wants. At Birigazza, on the northern declivity of the mountains, there is what is called a volcano, or burning mountain; that is, a source of inflamed gas, similar to that of the *Monte di Fo* on the Bo-

* According to the '*Almanach de Genes*,' 6978 feet. This is exceeded, however, by some of the summits in the Abruzzi. *Monte Velino* rises to 8388 feet, and *Gran Sasso* to 9523 feet. *Monte Amaro* is 9134 feet.—Malte Brun, vol. vi. p. 28.

logna route. The smell is that of a clear coal fire: Mr. Woods, who visited it, could distinguish nothing like that of sulphur.*

The route from Lucca to Massa, after crossing a low part of the ridge which forms the western boundary of the valley of the Serchio, lies along a wide plain extending from the foot of the mountains to the sea. It is marshy in many parts, but this is in a great measure concealed by the luxuriant vegetation. The olive-tree abounds in the immediate neighbourhood of the road: on the right, forests of chestnut-tree clothe the declivities of the mountains, whose craggy summits are lost in the clouds. At Pietra-santa,† (2½ posts from Lucca,) there is a Gothic cathedral having a rose-window: the columns of the nave are of a beautiful reddish breccia. There is another church with a Gothic front in this town. Owing to the neighbouring marshes, the situation is deemed very unhealthy in summer. The next post leads to Massa, which stands at the entrance of a fine valley opening among the Apennines, and watered by a beautiful stream, the *Fiume-Frigido*. This little capital contains about 7000 inhabitants; nearly a fourth of the whole population of the dutchy. It is distinguished by the salubrity and beauty of the situation, but contains nothing very remarkable. Its ancient cathedral was pulled down by order of the Princess Elise, because it stood too near the royal palace;

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 416.

† Supposed to occupy the site of *Lucus Feroniæ*, a colonial town.

a sacrilegious outrage, which the inhabitants have not forgiven, although the restored Princess is even less popular.* There is an old castle, now used as a prison, to which travellers are taken for the sake of the fine view obtained from the walls.

The next seven miles of the post road, towards Sarzana, are along a narrow, rough, and, in wet weather, swampy tract; but this may be avoided by going round by Carrara. The road to this town, the only one in the dutchy, except the capital, crosses a ridge which seems to consist chiefly of a dark, bituminous limestone; and then ascends a valley sheltered by bold and craggy mountains, and watered by a brook which runs through the town. Carrara contains about 6000 inhabitants. It has a cathedral, which seems to have been begun in imitation of that at Pisa, but remains unfinished. Slender shafts and pointed arches adorn the upper part of the front; and a richly ornamented square, with an elegant rose-window in its centre, occupies a great part of the middle division. An academy of sculpture was founded at Carrara by the Princess Elise, in which at least the materials of study are to be found; and several artists have fixed their residence here, for the convenience of procuring the marble almost cost-free, upon which they may boldly try their skill.

The marble quarries from which this town derives its whole importance, occupy three or four descending ridges which unite in a lofty mountain called *Monte Sagro*. Ascending the little stream

* The Princess is said to have complained, that the chanting made her melancholy, and the smell of frankincense made her cough!—Simond, p. 578.

that flows through the town, you soon arrive at the beds of the dove-coloured marble called *bardiglio*. Higher up the valley are the beds of white marble: they are very much inclined, but do not follow any common direction. Only a few of these beds produce marble of such a grain and transparency as to be highly prized by the statuary; and if they succeed in obtaining one block in ten, which preserves a good colour throughout, they are satisfied. Still higher up, the marble becomes of a dull, dead colour; but of this, much larger blocks may be obtained. The principal quarries of veined marble are in a parallel valley. For upwards of two thousand years, the Lunigian or Carrara marbles have continued to be exported; and still, there remain stores apparently inexhaustible. More than 1200 men are now employed in the quarries; and the duty on the quantity exported, forms a tenth part of the state revenue, which is estimated at 21,000*l.**

The dutchy of Massa, which does not exceed fifteen square leagues in extent, with a population (in 1826) of 29,000 souls, was formerly a dependency on Modena. It was united by Napoleon to the principality of Lucca and Piombino; but, in 1814, was assigned to the archdutchess Maria Beatrice, on whose death it reverts to the House of Modena. The wide valley of the Magra, separating the hills which surround the Gulf of Spezzia from the mass of the Apennines, forms the boundary between the Tuscan States and the Genoese

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 417. Malte Brun, vol. vii. pp. 657, 764. Simond, p. 576.

territory, as, in ancient times, it divided Liguria from Etruria.*

The route from Lucca to Florence (6½ posts) is not particularly interesting, except as leading through Pistoia (*Pistoria*), memorable in Roman history as having witnessed the close of Catiline's brief and desperate career, and notorious, in later times, for factious and popular commotions. The road passes through Pescia, a pretty little city, (for it is walled, and the see of a bishop,) situated at the mouth of a valley, from which a little stream of the same name descends, and crosses the plain to join the Arno. The district has always been famous for its mulberry-trees, of which, in the fourteenth century, every person was obliged to plant a certain number.† The route continues to skirt the Apennines, passing beneath the warm baths of *Monte Catini*; and then ascends to the town of Serravalle, which crowns with its ruined castle and church, a sloping ridge stretching out into the wide plain of Pistoia. Within a short distance of that city, the Ombrone is crossed,—a shallow stream in summer; in winter, a destructive torrent.

* See page 268 of our first volume.

† See Sismondi, *de l'Agric. Tosc.* p. 49. Upon the declivity of the hill is a pleasant rustic dwelling, accessible only by a foot-path, where, in 1813, M. Sismondi was residing, while occupied in writing the last volumes of his History of Italy. (Chateauvieux, p. 82.) This must be, we presume, the *petite métairie*, in the bosom of the charming hills of Pescia, called *Val-chiusa*, which he has himself described with all the minuteness of familiar observation, and the sentiment inspired by local attachment. The *flora* of the spot seems to out-rival the *prato fiorito* of the baths of Lucca. See *Tabl. de l'Agric. Tosc.* § xxix.

Pistoia is a clean, handsome, and well-built city, with unusually broad streets, and many curious and splendid edifices; but dull and silent. Its population is reduced to about 9000 inhabitants;* and the vast buildings and spacious streets seem related to past times, more than to the present race. It is surrounded with old walls, and defended by a decayed castle. Its *duomo* is in the same style of architecture as those of Pisa and Lucca, but inferior to both; and the little columns, being formed of the gloomy *macigno*, instead of marble, have a much less pleasing effect. Within are some interesting monuments bearing the date of 1337 and 1338, but not unworthy of 'the *Cinque-centi*;' also a curious one in the style of those of the Scaligers at Verona. The Baptistery, a small octagon, exhibits some parts in the Gothic style, and is a handsome edifice. It was erected in 1337, by Andrea Pisano. *S. Andrea* is mentioned by Mr. Woods as an interesting specimen of early architecture: the front exhibits a single range of arches on half-columns, over which is 'an entablature that might be Roman.' *S. Geronimo* is incrusted with dark green and white marble, in alternate horizontal stripes: within is a curious old pulpit, ornamented with bas-reliefs of very early date. The interior of *Sta. Maria dell' Umilita* is said to be 'much admired;' and *Santo Spirito*, which formerly belonged to the Jesuits' College, contains, we are told, one of the finest organs in Europe, together with a very rich altar and a painting of Ignatius Loyola.† Mr. Pennington mentions

* It is said to have amounted formerly to 40,000.

† Sketches, &c. vol. iv. p. 85. Woods, vol. ii. p. 413. Pennington, vol. i. p. 435.

the *Palazzo della Giustizia* as a fine old building. Pistoia has a well-supplied market, a museum, and two small public libraries, a large theatre, assembly-rooms, and a *corso*, where races take place as at Florence. Many noble and respectable families have fixed their residence here; the city being considered as one of the most agreeable places in Tuscany. In place of the suppressed Jesuits' College, there is a seminary for priests; and there is a large hospital, which is kept in excellent order.

The manufactures for which Pistoia was formerly celebrated, are now conducted on a contracted scale: they consist of woollens, silk, leather, and hardware. Among the hills, three miles from Pistoia, are forges where iron is made into bars. The iron is brought, in irregular-shaped masses, from furnaces situated in the Maremma; but the ore is obtained from the mines of Elba.* A mile nearer to Pistoia, is an establishment where

* The earliest furnaces for melting the ore of Elba, were at Populonia, in the most unhealthy part of the great Maremma of Piombino. None of the ore is smelted in the island, there being a scarcity of wood; and in the earliest times, the greater part appears to have been exported. 'The side of a high hill is cut down, wholly composed of the richest iron ore. The appearance of this hill, at a distance, is red as freestone: when you walk over the refuse, it glitters as if you were treading on myriads of brilliants. The Romans had worked it; and lately, a gallery was discovered with many of their mining implements, blistered and misshapen by rust.'—Williams, vol. i. pp. 221, 2. Virgil calls Elba,

'*Insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis.*'

(*Æn.*, x. p. 173.) In the Maremma of Siena, there is a vein containing iron, copper, and galena, between the strata of limestone and schist. The copper was smelted, and

the rods made at the forge are drawn out into iron wire, by means of machinery worked by water-wheels. The water descending from the hills near Pistoia, is also employed in working a paper-mill.*

The next stage (a post and a half) leads over a flat and tame, but fertile country, to Prato, a neat and busy little town, or rather city,† on the Bizentio, containing manufactories of coarse woollens and hair-cloths, and of hardware. Its fair is one of the largest in Tuscany. The population is rated at 10,000. Here also is a cathedral, incrusted with the dark green serpentine and white marble in alternate stripes. The former material is obtained from quarries about three miles from the city. On the outside of the cathedral, fronting the *Piazza Grande*, there is a beautiful marble pulpit, springing out of a pillar, with brackets and rich carvings; and on the pulpit itself, are 'sculptured, in the finest taste, several dancing angels!' Over it is a canopy, supported by a beautiful column; and Mr. Williams was highly charmed with the symmetry of the whole design, and the excellent finishing.‡ The interior of the church is grand and gloomy, richly decorated, and crowded with beggars. Another post

silver extracted from the galena, in 1760. Sulphuret of antimony occurs in the same district.—Cadell, vol. i. p. 243.

* Cadell, vol. i. pp. 242—4.

† Prato and Pistoia are united under one prelate.

‡ Williams, vol. i. p. 248. Sketches, vol. iv. p. 85. From this pulpit, three times a year, the bishop, or grand-vicar, blesses the *Cintola della Vergine*, which is kept in the chapel of the Madonna in the *duomo*, and is an object of high veneration. There is much bas-relief in silver, representing its history. Pennington, vol. i. p. 459. This Traveller

and a half leads over the plain of the Arno, to the gates of Florence

Having now brought back the reader to this point, we must again descend the Arno, and, passing by the gates of Pisa, traverse its extensive and fertile plain, and transport him at once to the bustling commercial city of Livorno, which John Bull knows only by the uncouth name of Leghorn.

This place presents a striking contrast to the faded grandeur and half-deserted streets of Pisa. Indeed, the general air of animation, activity, and business, is singularly opposed to the listless idleness of the inland cities of Italy. Leghorn is a neat, clean, and well-built fortified town, containing, within a square area of about two miles and a half in circumference, between 60,000 and 70,000 inhabitants. Of these, a sixth part are Jews, who form the wealthiest class of the community. The concourse of people who fill the streets, is the more striking from the variety of costume which here meets the eye; the European dress being intermingled with the national habit of the Turk, the Armenian, and the Greek of the Levant, the picturesque costume of the Mediterranean sailors, and the peculiar attire of the natives of the Barbary coast. The streets are paved with large flag-stones, as at Florence, over

mentions *la chiesa delle Carceri* as a handsome church of the architecture of Brunelleschi; *S. Vincenzo,* ' small but very elegant;' and *S. Francesco,* as having a very large nave. In this town also is ' a noble and extensive college for the education of young men,' which bears the name of its founder, Cicognini.

which the hackney-coaches run lightly, drawn by one horse. Awnings project in the streets, with tables and seats for business or refreshment. In the evening, the numerous coffee-houses, elegantly lighted up, and crowded with both sexes, might be taken for assembly-rooms. Works of art and architectural monuments must not be looked for. ‘ Art,’ says Mr. Williams, ‘ does not exist in Leghorn, save in the alabasters in the *Via Grande*, the enchained figures at the harbour, or the tombs of the *Campo Santo*.’ The fine canal which comes from Pisa, flows through the town, and adds to the liveliness of the scene, being almost constantly covered with barges and pleasure-boats. Of the latter, there are more than two hundred, which are constantly plying in different parts of the canal and port.

The harbour of Leghorn consists of an outer and an inner one, with a good roadstead. The outer harbour, which is the real port, is of difficult entrance, owing to the coral reef which obstructs the approach, and, notwithstanding the pains taken to cleanse it, is frequently choked with mud ; but large vessels lie securely in the road, moored to pillars with great iron rings. On one side of the harbour is the *Forterezza Vecchia,* where are lodged the galley-slaves, who are employed both in the harbour and on shore, with a chain to their legs; and sometimes two are chained together. On the left side of the harbour is the Mole, founded on a rock of stratified, shelly limestone, and running out a considerable way to sea. It was built by Cosmo II., and forms a pleasant promenade. On a ridge of rocks a little way off

shore, is a noble light-house, in which two men and their families constantly reside. The lantern is 176 feet above the sea, and about 36 feet in circumference. There is a smaller light within the harbour. The *Lazzaretto*, built on a little island at some distance, is considered as the finest establishment of the kind in Europe. On the quay, is seen a marble statue of Ferdinand I., with four kneeling figures in bronze, attached to the pedestal: they are larger than life, and are said to represent some Turkish slaves who had attempted to steal a Tuscan galley, and were executed by order of that Prince.*

Leghorn can boast of no antiquity, at least as a city.† At the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was a mere village, surrounded with unwholesome swamps. In 1421, it was ceded by the Genoese to the Grand Duke, in exchange for Sarzana. It is said to owe its earliest improvements to the English; especially to Sir Robert Dudley, son of the Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Elizabeth, under the administration of the Emperor of Germany as Lord of Tuscany. Its prosperity must, however, be ascribed chiefly to the princes of the house of Medici, by whom the mole and light-house were

* Evelyn, vol. i. p. 80. Pennington, vol. i. p. 448. This writer states, that the sculptor's name was Tacca. Addison speaks of it as Donatelli's. Mr. Cadell ascribes it to John of Bologna, whose name seems to occur almost as readily as that of Buonarotti, when any work of art is of unknown authorship. Another writer tells us, that these kneeling slaves personify the four quarters of the world! —Sketches, vol. iv. p. 54.

† Its name, as well as situation, appears to identify it with the ancient *Portus Herculis Liburni, vel Labronis*, corrupted into *Livorno*.

erected, and who first declared it a free port. Evelyn, in 1646, thus describes the place.

'Ligorne is the prime port belonging to all the Duke's territories; heretofore a very obscure town, but, since Duke Ferdinand has strongly fortified it after the modern way, has drained the marshes by cutting a channel thence to Pisa, navigable sixteen miles, and has raised a mole emulating that at Genoa, to secure the shipping, it is become a place of great receipt. . . . The houses of this neat town are very uniform, and excellently painted *a fresco*, on the outer walls, with representations of many of their victories over the Turks. The houses, though low on account of the earthquakes which frequently happen there, (as did one during my being in Italy,) are very well built; the Piazza is very fair and commodious, and, with the church, whose four columns at the portico are of black marble polished, gave the first hint to the building both of the church and the Piazza in Covent Garden with us, though very imperfectly pursued.'*

The modern houses in Leghorn are far, however, from being generally low. Mr. Woods says, they are usually very lofty; and the lowest story, or perhaps the lowest two, are often warehouses. The chief public buildings are, the ducal palace, the arsenal, six Roman Catholic parochial churches, two Greek churches, a chapel belonging to the English factory, an Armenian church, an elegant synagogue, a mosque, three hospitals, a female charity school, a theatre, and public baths. There is also an academy of science, with a good public

* Evelyn vol. i.

library. The western end of the city, being intersected with canals, is called New Venice. The only good water is brought to the city by an aqueduct, from the hills of Colognole, 12 miles distant.

To an Englishman, the most interesting spot in Leghorn, is the *Campo Inglese*, or English burial-ground, without the walls. It is inclosed with an iron rail, and surrounded, in the Oriental manner, with cypresses. Here are many monuments in memory of British consuls and merchants who resided in Leghorn, and of English invalids carried off by pulmonary disease at Pisa. Among them are several British senators. Smollett lies buried here, as, by a singular coincidence in their fate, Fielding died and is interred at Lisbon. Here also the late Mr. Horner found his grave.

To the south of Leghorn, the whole coast between the rocky headlands of Monte Nero and Piombino, is a long sweep of low, sandy beach, with three or four lonely, diminutive castles, intended as a check upon the piratical incursions of the Barbary corsairs. The islands of Gorgona, Capraia, and Elba,* and some high insulated rocks, are within sight of the coast. Between them and the Tuscan shores, in the deep blue waters of the Mediterranean, are fished multitudes of the finest anchovies. The shoal on which they lie, is about six feet below the surface. They are salted all along the coast: those of Gorgona are the most

* The island which once formed the petty empire of Napoleon, lies immediately off the point of Piombino, of which it seems a continuation. The best description of Elba will be found in Williams's Letters, vol. i. letters 17—19.

esteemed. Nearly opposite to this island, the mouth of the river Cecina, which retains its ancient name, forms a small harbour, the *Vada Volaterrana* of classical geography.

On the banks of this river, nearly fifteen miles inland, stood the ancient Etruscan city of *Velathri* or *Volaterræ*, now Volterra. 'Even,' says Dr. Cramer, 'if we had not the express authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for assigning to Volterra a place among the twelve principal cities of ancient Etruria, the extent of its remains, its massive walls, vast sepulchral chambers, and numerous objects of Etruscan art, would suffice to show its antique splendour and importance, and claim for it that rank. From the monuments which have been discovered within its walls, and in the immediate vicinity, no small idea is raised of the power, civilization, and taste of the ancient Etruscans. Its walls were formed, as may yet be seen, of huge massive stones, piled on each other without cement; and their circuit, which is still distinctly marked, embraced a circumference of between three and four miles. The citadel was built, as Strabo reports, on a hill, the ascent of which was 15 *stadia.*'*

Volterra,' says Sir R. C. Hoare, 'in point of situation, is, perhaps, the most elevated town in Italy. It occupies a species of plain on the summit of a mountain. The ancient walls embraced a circuit of seven miles, while the modern comprise but three. Of the few remains of Etruscan architecture, the most remarkable are, the *Porta*

* Cramer, vol. i. p. 185.

dell' Arco, the *Piscina*, supposed to have been originally a reservoir, and the walls, which are still easily traced. The two first are very perfect.'* The principal collection of antiquities is that of the *Palazzo Pubblico;* there is also another in the *Giorgi* palace, and a small one at the *Badia.* Of the numerous *ipogei* which have been discovered, few remain open; but two, which are yet perfect, may be visited on the *Colle del Portone*, adjoining the *Villa Inghirami.* Fragments of Roman Baths are also to be seen; and the figure of a theatre may be traced at Vallebuona. Some good works of the Florentine school are to be found in the churches.

'Ruined convents, deserted gardens, a few olive-trees, old walls, and roofless palaces, serve,' says M. Chateauvieux, 'to recall the ancient splendour of this city, in which still vegetate 3000 (4000) inhabitants,† the greater part of whom are peasants or artificers in alabaster. . . . The pale inhabitants wander like shades in the midst of the remains of majestic grandeur. Discouraged by the appearance of so many ruins, they make no attempt to protect even their own habitations against the fate which threatens them. They abandon them to the elements, and await with resignation the periodical scourge with which nature seems to decimate them every year. I did not find even an inn in the city.

Hoare, vol. i. p. 8, 9.

† In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Volterra, with Pisa, rose into importance, and is said to have contained as many as 50,000 inhabitants.

'From the towers of Volterra, the prospect extends to a great distance beyond these sterile regions. The nakedness of the land is interrupted only by a few woods of cypress and ilex; the deep green of which, thrown on the yellow soil, seems to add to the sombreness of the scenery. From the depths of the valleys, a perpetual smoke is sent up by the *solfaterras*, sometimes, during storms, rolling like waves, and sometimes rising in columns like the smoke of a sacrifice.'*

'In some parts of the Maremma,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'the water is brackish, and lies lower than the sea: in others, it oozes, full of tartar, from beds of travertine. At the bottom or on the sides of hills, are a multitude of hot springs, which form pools. A few of these are said to produce borax; some, which are called *fumache*, exhale sulphur; others, called *bulicame*, boil with a mephitic gas. The very air above is only a pool of vapours, which sometimes undulate, but seldom flow off. It draws corruption from a rank, unshorn, rotting vegetation, from reptiles and fish both living and dead. All nature conspires to drive man away from this fatal region; but man will ever return to his bane, if it be well baited. The Casentine peasants still migrate hither in winter, to feed their cattle; and here they sow corn, make charcoal, saw wood, cut hoops, and peel cork. When summer returns, they decamp, but often too late; for many die on the road, or bring home the Maremmian disease.'*

* Chateauvieux, pp. 102—106.
† Forsyth, vol. i. p. 138.

To the east of Volterra, but out of the reach of the *mal-aria*, stands Siena, the capital of the Maremma. The distance from Florence is five posts, over a mountainous country, exhibiting, upon the whole, more cultivation and less wood than in the tract between Florence and Bologna.* Some woods, however, occur, while the cultivated land is often shaded with olives and vines, the same ground producing at once corn, wine, and oil. The Apennines here run into long lines, frequently rising into obtusely conical summits, which are generally crowned with a castle, a village, or a convent. They present no precipitous faces; but the successive ranges fall in well varied, sweeping lines, a detached hill occasionally standing out from the great mass. On approaching Siena, the villas become more numerous.

Siena (*Sena Julia*) occupies the irregular summit of a commanding eminence, and has an imposing appearance, which is not supported by the interior of the city. The Florence gate† leads to a long, irregular street (*Strada Romana*) which nearly divides this 'ill-built and ill-peopled city.' In this line, none of the principal objects occur; 'but you see men,' says Forsyth, 'you see groupes proportioned to the extent of Siena. Leave this line, and you pass into a desert.' The hundred thousand inhabitants who are said to have crowded the highways of this city, when commerce

* At Poggi-bonzi, the third post, the Florence road falls in with that from Leghorn and Pisa.

† Over the *Camullia* or Florentine gate is the inscription '*Cor magis tibi Sena pandit.*'—Forsyth.

rendered it the rival of Florence, are now reduced to 18,000; and grass grows in the deserted quarters. Owing to the extreme inequality of the ground on which the city is built, many of the streets are so steep as scarcely to be practicable for carriages, and they are for the most part winding and narrow. They are neatly paved with tiles, 'laid in that fish-bone manner which Pliny calls the *spicata testacea.*' A stranger coming from the large, flat stones of Florence, feels the transition unpleasant; but the unevenness of the ground would render the Florentine pavement very unsafe here in the frosts of winter.

Every gentleman's house in Siena, is called, by courtesy, a palace, although few have the distinguishing feature of a *cortile.* Some of the old mansions are built in 'the mixed demi-Gothic style which marks all the works of their two great architects, Agostino and Agnolo.' The windows are beset with an 'awkward angular fretwork' peculiar to these buildings. Evelyn describes the bricks of Siena as 'so well made, that they look almost as well as porphyry itself, having a kind of natural polish.' In the *Strada Romana*, 'Pius II. has built a most stately palace of square stone, with an incomparable portico joining near to it. The town is commanded by a castle which hath four bastions. Near it is a list to ride horses in, much frequented by the gallants in summer.'*

'The grand piazza (*Piazza del Campo*) is sloped like an ancient theatre, for public games; and, like that, it forms the segment of a circle, in

* Evelyn, vol. i. p. 86.

the chord of which stands the *Palazzo Pubblico.** This palace is a work of different dates and designs, and parcelled out into very different objects; such as the public offices, the courts of law, the theatre, and the prisons. The whole fabric was shaken by the earthquake of 1797, which cracked all the frescoes of Meccarino in the *Sala del Consistorio*, damaged half the palaces in the city, and frightened the Pope out of it.

'In the cathedral,' continues Mr. Forsyth, 'we find marble walls polished on both sides, and built in alternate courses of black and white; a front overcharged with ornaments; a belfry annexed, but not incorporated with the pile; a cupola bearing plumb on its four supports; circular arches resting on four pillars; doors with double architraves; columns based upon lions tearing lambs. All these are peculiar to the Tuscan churches built in the Lombard style; but here, too, are indisputable marks of the Gothic, particularly on the front, the vaults, and the windows... A barbarous taste for the emblematic pervades this cathedral. Its front is covered with animals, all symbols of cities. Even the lion under its columns, conceals, I presume, an enigma; for I have seen it at the doors of several Tuscan churches.† The pillars of the aisles are crossed by alternate courses of black and white marble, which I failed to admire, conceiving that even a pillar, if round, should appear

* Evelyn compares the Piazza to the 'figure of an escalop-shell;' Mr. Woods, to 'half a saucer.'

† 'The statues of lions were placed at the doors of Egyptian temples, to represent a watch, as Valerian remarks at Mycenæ.'

of one piece;—" but, Sir," said a Senese, " black and white are the colours of our city banner."* Round the vault of the nave is a set of staring heads, cast in *terra-cotta*, each bearing the name of a different pope, although several came evidently from the same mould.'†

This cathedral, which is said to have been founded about the middle of the thirteenth century, is only a small part of what was intended. The front, begun in 1284, by Giovanni Pisano, and finished by Agostino and Agnolo, greatly resembles that of the cathedral at Orvieto. ' It is rich,' says Mr. Woods, ' but hardly handsome:' its great defect is, that the apparent solids are not well placed one above another. A great many fragments remain of the parts once intended, and begun, but not completed: they prove the immense size of the design. The present nave and choir were to have formed two arms of the cross. The lower arches of the nave are semi-circular; but those of the clerestory, and the windows in them, are pointed, with tracery such as, in England, we might refer to the beginning of the reign of Edward III. The capitals are ornamented with foliage and figures. The series of heads of popes, alternating with triglyphs, forms a sort of entablature over the lower arches; and circular niches with busts occur in the spandrils. Some change

* This taste for stripes is prevalent, however, in Italy; and they frequently occur where no such explanation can be given.

† Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 120—123. The series comes down to Alexander III. Among them, formerly, Mrs. Starke tells us, was the bust of Pope Joan, with the inscription: ' *Johannes VIII. Fœmina de Angliæ!*'

of design seems to have taken place in the progress of the work. In the choir, some of the arches appear to be obtusely pointed: they spring from a pedestal above the capital, and the lower capitals are omitted. ‘ Here then,’ adds Mr. Woods, ‘ is another style of the architecture of the middle ages, which can hardly be classed either with our Norman or Gothic, and which, in a large building like this, where all the parts are rich, splendid, and harmonious, can hardly fail to be magnificent.’* The tower, which much resembles that of S. Zeno at Verona, is probably older than the rest of the structure.

‘ The pavement of this cathedral,’ we again cite Mr. Forsyth, ‘ is the work of a succession of artists, from Duccio down to Meccarino, who have produced the effect of the richest mosaic, merely by inserting grey marble into white, and patching both with black mastic. The grandest composition is the history of Abraham, whose figure is unfortunately multiplied in the same compartments; but, when grasping the knife, the patriarch is truly sublime. These works lay exposed for at least a hundred years to the general tread, and have been improved, rather than defaced by the attrition; for one female figure which had never been trodden, looks harsher than the rest. Those of the choir were opportunely covered two centuries ago. This engraved inlay has occasioned more discussion than it deserves. It is certainly interesting as a

* Woods, vol. i. p. 314. The painted glass windows are said to have been executed in 1549.

monument of early art; but, were the design more admirable than it really is, the very simplicity of execution unfits it for a pavement, and requires distance to soften and set off the forms. The work is not mosaic, for there is no tesselation. It is not strictly the *pavimentum sectile*, for that consisted in regular-lined figures. It can hardly be classed with ancient vase-painting, merely because it expresses the contours and the drapery by dark lines. Here, it passes for the invention of Duccio, and original on this floor.*

'The pulpit is universally admired as a beautiful specimen of marble and carving; but, perhaps, it presents too many patterns of decoration, for the unity of design necessary to so small an object.†... The *Chigi* chapel glares with rich marble, silver, gilt, bronze, and *lapis-lazzoli;* where the sweeping beard and cadaverous flanks of St. Jerome are set in contrast with the soft

* According to Mrs. Starke's authorities, the story of Moses was designed by Beccafiumi, surnamed Meccarino, to whom also is attributed the story of Abraham's sacrifice. The story of Joshua is by Duccio di Buoninsegna. 'In the pavement are likewise represented the emblems of the cities once in alliance with Siena; namely, the elephant and castle of Rome, the lions of Florence and Massa, the dragon of Pistoia, the hare of Pisa, the unicorn of Viterbo, the goose of Orvieto, the vulture of Volterra, the stork of Perugia, the lynx of Lucca, the horse of Arezzo, and the kid of Grosseto. Here also is the she-wolf of Siena, borne in memory of Romulus and Remus.'

† 'Instead of this fixed and established dignitary, I would call occasionally into use a poor old itinerant, the wooden preaching-bench of St. Bernardine, which stands mouldering here in all the simplicity of holiness.

beauty of a Magdalen, which Bernini had transformed from an Andromeda, and thus left us the affliction of innocence for that of guilt.*

'Fronting this chapel is a library without books; for scored music and illuminated psalms hardly deserve that title. It contains a series of gaudy gilt pictures,' (representing the principal transactions in the life of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pius II.,) 'which, though painted by Pintarricchio, bear the name of Raffael, from some accidental touches lent by the immortalizing master. Whatever Raffael sketched, or began to sketch, walls which he never painted, jars which he never saw, statues which he never cut, are still called Raffael's.'† In this Sacristy, there is also a most beautiful antique groupe of the Three Graces, one of which, in particular, is an exquisite figure. Under the cathedral is a subterranean church, dedicated to *S. Giovanni*, to which you obtain a level access from a lower street. It contains nothing very remarkable.‡

* This chapel contains three other statues, ascribed to Bernini's pupils; and 'a copy, in Roman mosaic, of a painting by Carlo Maratta.'

† Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 121—5. Raffael is *said* to have painted the first fresco on the right, and to have furnished the whole design, at a very early age.

‡ Woods, vol. i. p. 315.—If it be true, as stated by Mrs. Starke, that the cathedral occupies the site of a temple of Minerva, this subterranean church would seem to be an ancient structure. The antique marble groupe is stated to have been found 'under the church,'—probably in this edifice; as well as a marble vase, now in the cathedral, containing 'marble fish so well done, that they appear to be swimming.'

The Dominican church deserves, Mr. Woods says, a visit from the architect. The nave is about 75 feet wide, with a length three times as great; the transept is not much less; and the unincumbered space has a noble effect. Beyond the transept is a range of seven chapels. In one of these is a Madonna, executed by Guido da Siena in 1221, nineteen years before the birth of Cimabue; on the ground of which the Senese claim for their city, the honour of being the earliest school of the revived art. 'At present,' remarks Mr. Forsyth, 'they can boast neither school nor artist; and were lately obliged to call in Adimollo, who has painted three palaces, and is too much admired here for the fire, the diversity, the *estetico* of his compositions.'

Among the pictures in the churches of Siena, those which appeared to this accomplished Traveller the most deserving of admiration, are, Vanni's Descent from the Cross,—'a jewel concealed in the obscure church of *S. Quirino;*' Casolani's Flight into Egypt, in the same church,—'full of the tranquil graces, and beautifully mellow;' Peruzzi's Sibyl, at *Fonte Giusta*,—'a sublime figure, but too sedate, perhaps, for the act of prophecy;' and Sodomo's '*torso* of Christ, in the Franciscan cloister,—a damaged figure, but much admired by the learned in art, for its colouring and anatomy.' The Luccherine Gallery and other collections, we are told, 'will not compensate the slavery of praising them.' In the halls of the *Palazzo degli Eccelsi* (or *Palazzo Pubblico*), there are, however, a great number of very early

paintings, which are interesting, at least as illustrating the progress of the art.*

Among the antiquities of Siena, we find mention made of a 'Roman gate' as much admired; remains of the old walls near the church of *S. Antonio;* a well in the church of *S. Lorenzo*, 'at the bottom of which is a sort of fountain supported by columns, apparently of high antiquity;' and several ancient grottoes, subterranean aqueducts, &c., in the mountain on which the city is built. The fountain in the *Piazza del Campo*, constructed in 1193, is celebrated for the quality and quantity of its water, which have obtained for it the notice of Dante in the *Inferno.*

Siena contains a university founded in 1330, with a library of 25,000 volumes. The number of students is under 300, while that of professors (unless reduced) is 60. Among the numerous academies in this city, those of physics and natural history have acquired some note from their published memoirs.† Here is a hospital, instituted

* The *Sala della Pace* is ornamented with paintings by Ambrogio di Siena, executed in 1338; the *Sala di Consiglio*, with paintings relating to the history of Siena, by the same master and by Bartoli; the *Sala di Balia*, with subjects from the life of Alexander III., exhibiting the costume of the age of Giotto; the *Sala del Consistorio*, with some of Beccafiumi's finest frescoes, and the Judgement of Solomon, by Luca Giordano; and other apartments with the works of Salimbeni, Casolani, &c.—Starke.

† 'The *Intronati* of Siena are generally considered as the oldest academy in Europe; yet, the *Rozzi* of this city, if really associated for literary pursuits, (as some of their own body have assured me,) were anterior to the *Intronati*, and even to the club of Platonists whom old Cosimo de' Medici collected round him. Such is the passion here for

for the reception of pilgrims going to Rome: the back window of its hall commands a very beautiful view. The circular tribune of its chapel is painted so as to represent a perspective of straight-lined architecture;—' an ingenious and difficult folly, which can look well only in one point of view, and in every other is distorted, or totally unintelligible.'*

This city boasts of having given birth to seven popes, including the learned Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.), and the illustrious pontiffs, Gregory VII. and Alexander III. This honour is doubtless esteemed more than a counterbalance for the disgrace of having produced the founders of the Socinian heresy, Lælius and Faustus Socinus. The tutelar saint of the city, *Sta. Catharina di Siena*, is one of the most popular divinities of the country. Born the daughter of a poor dyer, her pretended revelations and erotic mysticism raised her into such celebrity, that she was employed to solicit Pope Gregory XI. to quit Avignon, and restore the papal throne to Rome. A religious

academies, that the noble College Tolomei has formed three out of fifty students. So early as the sixteenth century, Siena counted sixteen academies. In the following age, a female one was founded here, by the Grand Dutchess Vittoria d'Urbino; but this did not long survive its foundress.'—Forsyth, vol. i. p. 131, note. 'The College Tolomei was founded for young noblemen, who pay 50*l. per annum* for board, education, clothes, and everything. The college is taught by Scolopians, monks devoted to education, and who being, as such, the rivals of the Jesuits, were suppressed by them in the time of their founder.'—*Ib.* vol. ii. p. 257.

† Woods, vol. i. 315.

society was instituted in her honour, in 1464, which enjoyed the privilege of annually redeeming two criminals and two debtors. This fraternity also annually conferred dowries on a certain number of the daughters of poor artisans, who walked in procession on the festival of the saint.* We find no reference made to this custom by any of our recent travellers; but Mr. Forsyth speaks of the festival of the *Vergine Assunta* in August, as collecting all the people in the neighbourhood 'who love either masses or debauchery.' On this occasion, the senators, who, though divested of all their ancient privileges, still retain their red mantles and the title of *Eccelsi*, aid in the solemn procession, which exhibits 'the waggon that was conquered from Florence,' and a votive wax-work which is conveyed with solemn pomp to the cathedral. At this festival, the horse-races of the piazza revive, among the different wards of the city, the same rivality that prevailed in the four factions of ancient Rome;† and scores of new sonnets are recited, in solemn academy, on the

* On this occasion, it was customary for the young women sometimes to make choice of their husbands. The candidates for their favour stood near the procession, and the lover presented a handkerchief to the object of his choice. If she refused him, she kissed the handkerchief, and returned it. If she consented, she tied a knot on it, and then presented it to her bridegroom.—Malte Brun, vol. vii. p. 666. In the chapel of S. Catherine (in the Dominican church), Evelyn says, 'they shew her head, the rest of her body being translated to Rome.'

† 'At the close of the race,' says Forsyth, 'all was riot and exultation. The victorious ward tore their jockey from his saddle, stifled him with *kisses*, and bore him off in triumph to the wine-flask.'

same holy theme that has employed the Senese rhymesters for three hundred years.*

Mr. Forsyth ascribes to the Senese a large measure of that sectional party-feeling which, throughout Italy, separates province from province and city from city. 'Never were the Tuscans so unanimous,' he remarks, 'as in hating the other States of Italy; the *Senesi* agreed best in hating the other Tuscans; the citizens of Siena in hating the rest of the *Senesi;* and in the city itself, the same amiable passion was subdivided among the different wards. This last ramification of hatred had formerly exposed the town to very fatal conflicts; till, at length, in the year 1200, St. Bernardine instituted *boxing* as a more innocent vent to their hot blood, and laid the bruisers under certain laws which are sacredly observed to this day. As they improved in prowess and skill, the pugilists came forward on every point of national honour: they were sung by poets, and recorded in inscriptions.' Mr. Rose tells us, that in this city are regular academies for pugilistic exercise; and, unlike the desultory and illegitimate fisty encounters of the Florentines, and the more savage combats of the Pisans, here the art puts on 'a scientific form,' and assumes 'the distinguishing features of a courteous combat!'†

* Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 128—131. On the occasion of this festival, Mr. Forsyth witnessed the beatification of Pier Pettinagno, 'a Senese comb-maker,' whom the Church had till then neglected to canonize, but who received, five hundred years ago, the 'greater honour of a verse of praise from Dante.'

† Forsyth, vol. i. p. 129. Rose, vol. i. p. 239.—At Pisa and Leghorn, the combatants clench in their fist a cylin-

'The Senese,' remarks Forsyth, 'seem vain of their descent from a Roman colony,* as figures of the she-wolf attest in every corner of the city. We know but little of these colonists, except the wanton rebellion which Tacitus records. Their descendants were lost in obscurity till the eleventh century; yet, early in the twelfth, they betrayed an hereditary love of revolution, and shook off the yoke of the too celebrated Matilda. When the *Humbled* were expelled from Lombardy, Siena offered an asylum to those factious and degraded monks, who resembled her own nobility both in character and in fate. To these exiles she owed the first establishment of her woollen-manufacture, which soon paved the way for the silk.

'Too dignified to be useful, the nobility of Siena left those arts to the people. The people became industrious, rich, refractory. Impatient of taking the law from others, they insisted on sharing in the legislature, and prevailed even beyond their wishes; for their former lords, seeing the senate debased by weavers and wool-combers, abandoned their public functions, and sulkily retired to their castles in the country. The plebeians, flushed with their new robes and authorities, impertinently intruded into the quarrels of the empire. Their vanity, however, was fatal to their peace. Proud of supporting a townsman on the papal throne, they let Alexander III. embroil them with the Ghibellines, and were crushed in the public con-

drical piece of stick, which inflicts a cruel wound when they strike obliquely.

* ——— '*Hor fu giammai*
Gente si vana come la Senese?' Dante.

flict. Frederic Barbarossa punished their presumption by divesting them of all their franchises, which, on their abject submission, he afterwards sold back in retail.

'The nobility either remained insignificant and idle on their estates, or they embarked in the Crusades. Some, indeed, desperately revolted to the Florentines, excited them to war against their own country, and were finally defeated at Montaperti. Victory inspired the citizens of Siena with an arrogance and tone which imposed on the starving nobles. This neglected class, feeling all the impotence of denuded rank, came humbly back to the city, where most of them renounced the names and arms of their family. The few who retained them were confined, like Jews in the *Ghetto*, to a certain street, which is still called *Casato* or surname. The rest styled themselves Peter the draper, or Paul the hosier, or Ansano the mercer; and built, by their trades, those palaces which their paltry feuds could scarcely furnish.

'On rising into merchants, some of those patricians branched off into foreign countries. The Buonsignori established in France "the Bank of the Great Table," which flourished for a century, and was then pillaged by Philip the Fair. The Chigi opened a bank of equal celebrity at Rome, where the vain Agostino made as stupid a sacrifice to his sovereign as that of Gresham. Not satisfied with the magnificence usual on such occasions, when he invited Leo X. to a banquet at the Farnesina, he served the whole papal court with a succession of silver plate, and ordered the removes, as

they went from table, to be tossed into the river. By what contagion is it that merchants, so prudent while at home, lose their senses when they approach sovereigns?*

'The artisans of Siena caught the court-disease. Whoever could buy an estate, bought also nobility, and changed their party. A government thus fluctuating between two orders, fell into a new series of revolutions. Its executive power was invested first in three consuls, next in a commission of fifteen, then in the nine, then in the thirteen, then in the twelve, all variously composed of patricians and plebeians. Such changes exposed the state to a succession of tyrants; to Nicolo, captain of the people, to the Duke of Milan, to Petrucci, to the Spaniards, and, after one bloody struggle, to the Medici.

'From that time, Siena dates her decay. From 85,000 inhabitants, the population has declined to 15,000 (18,000); and of thirty-nine gates, which were then necessary to a city so singular in its outline, only eight are now open. Those plebeians are extinct, who fought for the independence of their country, who extended its limits, and introduced the arts, made it a state of Italy, and a school of painting. That commerce which once excited the jealousy of Florence, now exports nothing that

* Dante refers to a club of young prodigals in Siena, called *La Brigata Goderecia*, 'who could club a purse of 200,000 ducats, and spend it in a few months. Their pheasants were roasted with burning cloves, and their horses were shod with silver, to ape, it may be presumed, the nuptial extravagance of the great Marquis of Tuscany. The scene of their debauchery is now a chapel.'

bears the name of Siena, except its hats.* *Cavalieri* have succeeded to merchants; and the republic is no more. Ever since Cosimo I. fixed a citadel on her enslaved back, Siena has sunk into one flat sabbath of most dutiful rest, from which nothing could rouse her but earthquakes and the French. She then raised her sluggish head, not to act, but to suffer. Passive and indifferent to every party, this people lately let the French, the Neapolitans, and the Cisalpines enter and drive each other out of their city. They even opened their gates to the Aretine mob, whose ringleader insulted them with the royal solecism, '*Noi*, *Cosimo Stefanini*, *entro nelle vostre mura*.' They tamely looked on, and allowed those vagabonds, who sometimes plundered, and sometimes begged in the streets, to murder with hammers, and burn in the Grand Piazza, fourteen Jews, their rivals in pedlarship.

'The shock is now past, and Siena is as dull as before. A gregarious nobility, no longer its masters, nor indeed their own, shed their natural torpor and insipidity over a city which they are too poor to invigorate. They want industry, if not talent, for those studies which distinguished their ancestors. Siena, though never eminent for men of genius, used formerly to swarm with patrician authors, particularly in the law. The single family of Socinus produced seven; the Piccoluomini, three or four, all much esteemed at home.

* There are also manufactures of woollen, leather, and paper, but on a small scale. Mr. Simond, however, represents Siena as exhibiting 'no signs of decay, but, on the contrary, every appearance of active industry, with scarcely any beggars, and the shops numerous and well supplied.'

The lower order is a far more lively and active race. Vain, flighty, fanciful, they want the judgement and penetration of their Florentine neighbours.* Most of the middling class, and even some of the nobility, are polished, intelligent, and naturally courteous. They never trespass on good-breeding, but when tempted by the demon of curiosity, who has here a great ascendancy. So numerous are the *conversazioni*, that none can be full. Each goddess remains at home, waiting for the homage of her votaries in her own temple. There, she jealously insists on their attendance every evening, and is implacable when they desert to a rival power. Those gentlemen who are not enlisted in any *conversazione*, repair to the rooms, or to the *Casino*. The rooms are the most splendid in Tuscany; and on gala occasions, such as the Assumption, they appear one gallery of beauties. The *Casino* had been originally a church; was then erected into a commercial tribunal; and is now transformed into a lounge for the nobility. Hence, marble saints on the walls, Mercury and woolsacks on the porch, and all the implements of gambling within. In all societies except the *Casino*, the two *cetos* (ranks) mix pretty freely together. Marriage and cecisbeism are the only

* The Florentines call a nail without a head, *chiodo Senese;* and they call the Senese, *pazzi* and *matti* (madmen). The Florentines are themselves stigmatized, in return, as *ciechi* (blind); owing, as they explain it, to the number of blind persons in their city, which is attributed to the whiteness of their houses. 'The other Tuscans contend, that the epithet should mean what it meant at Chalcedon.' A native of Siena is detected at Florence by his gait, which is formed to a hilly town.

points on which the barrier that parts them is still sacred.... Within the last twenty years, twenty noble families are extinct. Others hang only by a single thread. All younger brothers are condemned to celibacy, by custom as sacred as a vow. Thus, marriage is become a rare event among the Senese nobility, who once celebrated eighty matches within the same month.'*

'In the Senese,' adds this Writer, 'I saw high passions with generosity, and high spirit with frankness. Their manners were still free; their language full of cant; their religion at variance with their oaths; their streets and their children ridiculous with pious names.' The state of manners at the time he travelled (1803), does not appear to have differed materially from that of other Italian cities. The ladies are complimented as having 'more than their proportion of charms.' Mr. Simond thought the Senese 'remarkably graceful and good-looking, even in the ludicrous attitude of riding astride on donkeys, which seems the custom with ladies as well as with the market-women.' The usual head-dress is an elegant straw-hat with a few flowers, under which the hair is secured by an antique silver brooch. Their pronunciation and accent are peculiarly agreeable; softer even than the Roman; and the Tuscan dialect is reckoned to be spoken in greater purity in Siena, than in any other part of Italy.†

For twenty miles round Siena, the country is all hill or mountain. The more rugged hills are planted with olive-trees. The rest of the country is arable land intermixed with vineyards, some of

* Forsyth, vol. ii. pp. 177—186. † Simond, p. 571.

which are celebrated for their wines.* 'Before Leopold freed agriculture from its old restrictions,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'the Senese scarcely raised grain enough for its own consumption, but it now exports to a large amount.' The landholders, born and bred in the city, seldom visit their estates, except for the *villeggiatura* in autumn. Many of these villas are very spacious and beautifully situated; yet, during the greater part of the year, they are unoccupied. Mr. Forsyth visited one belonging to the Chigi family, at Centinale, situated in a wide, scraggy oak-wood, about ten miles from Siena. The 'remorse of an amorous cardinal' for the murder of a rival, led him to 'transform a gloomy plantation of cypress into a penitential Thebais, and to act there all the austerities of an Egyptian hermit. Another Cardinal of the Chigi family (afterwards Alexander VII.) made this his favourite retreat, and has left marble tiaras at every corner.' Gelso is another large and still more neglected villa, the road to which is described as leading through the richest vineyards, over hills clad with the olive-tree, and between hedges of wild myrtle; but in vain the eye seeks for the thick-matted herbage and those umbrageous masses of wood which characterize an English landscape. In proportion as they retire from the sea, the hills are healthy and populous. Here, instead of clustering into hamlets and villages, like the *castelli* of other parts of Tuscany, every cottage stands alone in the midst of its farm. 'The coun-

* 'Montepulciano produces "the king of wines;" and Chiante yields from its cannine grape, a *vino scelto* which many prefer to his majesty.'

try,' Forsyth says, 'is full of little local superstitions, and overgrown with monkish faëry. Every ruin is haunted; every spring has its saint; every district maintains its *strega*, or witch, who, like the ancient *strix*, is supposed to influence the growth of children and cattle, and thus subsists on the credulity of her neighbours. Some of the country towns are surrounded with old embattled walls. In the larger is a *vicario*, who judges in civil and criminal cases, subject to the revision of two higher magistrates: in the smaller, a *podestà*, acting as justice of the peace.'*

Further south extends the pestilential *Maremma*, which has been already described; a district once full of flourishing and populous cities, now consigned by man and nature to desolation. To the south-west of Siena is *Massa Veternensis*, which has preserved the first part of its name, and still ranks as a small town. A few miles to the south-west of this place, once stood *Vetulonii* (or *Vetluna*), one of the most powerful and distinguished of the twelve Etruscan cities, and a municipal town under the Romans. Its ruins are found in a forest still called *Selva di Vetleta*. In a line with this city, on the coast, was *Populonium* (or *Pupluna*), the naval arsenal of the Etruscans, and the only one of their cities that was close to the sea. In other instances, they were prevented from founding them on the coast, partly by the want of commodious havens, and partly by the dread of pirates. But the harbour of *Populonium* (now *Porto Baratto*) was spacious and secure, and, from its

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 139.

proximity to the Island of Elba, was of peculiar importance. The city itself was seated on a lofty headland (now *Capo di Campana*), on the summit of which was placed a tower for watching the approach of the tunny-fish.* The arsenal and port were at the foot of the promontory. It was still an important city in the time of the second Punic war, but sustained a siege during the civil wars, about the same time with Volterra, in which it was almost entirely destroyed. Extensive vestiges of the city are to be seen about three miles N. of Piombino. A small fortified village crowns the top of the promontory; and near it are a few blind arches, the only part that bears a Roman stamp.†

Piombino, a town of 1500 inhabitants, formerly gave name to a little principality extending along the coast, and comprising an area of 190 square miles, with about 18,000 inhabitants. It was annexed by Napoleon to Lucca; but is now merged, with Elba, in the Grand Dutchy. The total population of the province of Siena is estimated at about 128,000 souls; that of the province of Grosseto, which includes the rest of the Tuscan Maremma, at about 54,000; forming a total of 182,000 souls,—considerably less than that of the English

* The tunny-fishery was rented by an Elbese gentleman, in 1816, at 36,000 *livres* a year.

† A little to the east is the small lake of Caldano, formed by the Cornia, the narrow outlet of which forms the *Porto Falese* (*Portus Faleria*). The little river Alma, which next occurs, retains its ancient name; beyond which is the *Portus Trajanus* of Ptolemy, now *Torre di Troja*.—Cramer, vol. i. pp. 184—189.

county of Worcester, or that of the North Riding of Yorkshire.

The city of Grosseto is situated about 30 miles S.S.E. of Piombino, on the right bank of the Ombrone, and contains about 2000 inhabitants. The river Ombrone (*Umbro*) demands notice as being one of the most considerable rivers in Etruria. Pliny represents it as navigable. Its name is supposed to indicate, that the Umbri were once in possession of the country. Not far from its western bank, to the north-east of the *Lago di Castiglione* (*Lacus Prilis*, or *Prelius*), some remarkable ruins, bearing the name of Roselle, point out the site of *Rusellæ*, another of the twelve Etruscan cities, and a colony. Near this lake, and not far from Grosseto, a place still called *La Colonna* (*Columna*) marks the field of the battle of Telamo, which delivered Rome from a horde of Transalpine barbarians, in the interval between the first and second Punic wars. The name of *Talamone* still identifies the port and promontory of Telamo, to the south of the mouth of the Ombrone. Beyond these, the Osa and the Albegna (*Albinia*) empty themselves into the sea. Next occurs the once important port of the city of Cossa, called the *Portus Cossanus* and *Portus Herculis:* the latter designation is still preserved under the name of *Porto d' Ercole* (or *d' Ericolo*). This was, at one time, a principal station for the Roman navy in the lower sea. The site of *Cossa*, founded by the *Volci,* and colonized by the Romans, is found at a short distance from the modern town of Ansedonia, which is now itself in ruins.

The peninsula of *Monte Argentaro* (or *Monte Ericolo*), which is connected with the main by a narrow isthmus, forms here a double bay. That on the northern side is very extensive, and now bears the name of the *Stagno d' Orbitello*. Between the *Porto d' Ericole* and the mouth of the Fiore (*Arminia*), which next occurs, is the present boundary of Tuscany.*

* Cramer, vol. i. pp. 191—197.

CHAPTER II.

Route from Siena to Rome—Arezzo—Cortona—Perugia—Assisi—Route from Rimini to Rome—Ancona—Loreto—The Flaminian Way—Spoleto—Terni—The Campagna.

The great road from Siena to Rome passes over a most dreary country, which bears the general name of the Maremma, consisting of bare, clay hills, the highest of which, as at Siena, are crowned with a sandy, testaceous *stratum*. The tops and flatter spaces of these hills are not unproductive; but the rains are continually moving the soil, and furrowing the slopes of the hills in various directions. Earthquakes are frequent; 'but they seem,' Mr. Woods remarks, 'to be land-slips, arising from the nature of the material which forms the hills, rather than the violent convulsions usually understood by that name.' On the summit of one of these bare and barren hills is San Quirico, the first place, after leaving Siena, which pretends to the name of a town.* A few miles beyond this, the road crosses the volcanic mountain of Radicofani, which rises very rapidly to a considerable elevation above its base, (2470 feet

* Near *S. Quirico* are the Baths of St. Philip, where the calcareous water, falling in spray upon moulds, deposits a tartar which hardens into exquisite cameos and intaglios. See Williams's Travels, vol. i. p. 262.

above the sea,) towering in melancholy grandeur above all the neighbouring heights, and overlooking a scene of hideous desolation.* The supposed crater is nearly at the summit, and is now covered with immense masses of rocks and stones piled one above another in strange confusion, as by some tremendous convulsion. On the cone of the mountain are the ruins of a fort, once of importance; and immediately beneath the brow of the hill stands Radicofani, the frontier village of Tuscany, where passports are inspected. A very rapid descent, still over the same barren clay, leads down to the banks of the wild mountain-torrent which here divides the Tuscan States from those of the Church. At Ponte Centino, the papal *dogana* is established.

The same dreary scenery still continues, till the traveller arrives in sight of Acquapendente, the first town in the Ecclesiastical States, which bursts upon the view with all the charm of novelty.† The road winds up the hill on which it is built, amid broken banks, luxuriantly shaded with evergreens intermingled with ancient oaks; and a

* This groupe of mountains is entirely detached from the Apennines, rising, like an island, between the Arno, the Tiber, and the sea. They are composed entirely, it appears, of the Siena clay, sometimes capped with volcanic tufo, as at Radicofani.—Woods, vol. i. p. 317.

† To a traveller returning from the south, the transition from the green mountains and beautiful valleys of the Papal dominions to the wild and naked rocks and hills of the Sienese, is particularly striking. 'The savage prospect,' says Addison, 'put me in mind of the Italian proverb; that "the Pope has the flesh, and the Great Duke the bones of Italy."'

picturesque cascade falling over the rocks, just without the walls, adds to the beauty of the scene. The town is mean and insignificant, but strongly fortified.

The soil of the elevated plain on which the road now enters, is a volcanic tufo covering the clay formation. The country is pleasant, and the ground gradually rises, till the traveller reaches the brow of the hill on which *San Lorenzo Nuovo* is built. Here, the Lake of Bolsena bursts upon the view in all its treacherous beauty, ' with its islands, and castellated cliffs, its banks crowned with inviolate woods, and ruins built upon ruins, Bolsena mouldering on *Volsinii.*' * The ruined town of *S. Lorenzo Rovinato,* seated on a low rocky point, forms a most picturesque object. The lake itself presents a noble expanse of still water, about 35 miles in circumference, (Addison says, 21,) bordered by wooded hills. The mouldering remains of cities of ancient fame, alone shew that their deep recesses have not always been abandoned to silence and solitude. Two small islands diversify its surface, which, Pliny tells us, were floating in his time; but they are now fixed, and each has its church. On one of them, the unfortunate daughter of Theodoric was murdered.

* Forsyth.—*Volsinii* or *Volsinium,* which gave its ancient name to the lake, ranked among the first cities of the ancient Etruscans. Pliny calls it the Tarquinian lake, from the Etruscan city of *Tarquinium.* The site of that city is supposed to be indicated by some ruins to which the name of *Turchina* is attached, on the left bank of the Marta, above Corneto. Some curious tombs and subterraneous chambers have been discovered among its ruins.—Cramer, vol. i. pp. 198, 222.

The other derives a consecrated character from containing the relics of Sta. Cristina di Bolsena.

At Bolsena, a few clustered huts, the remains of a temple, and numerous architectural fragments, are all that exist to mark the site of *Volsinium;* but traces of the Etruscan city are said to be discernible on the slope of the hill, as well as remains of an amphitheatre; and there are some Roman arches nearer the lake. Just out of the town is a church, less remarkable for the beauty of its architecture, than as being the scene of the alleged miracle of the bloody wafer, in 1263. It is a triple church, and a gloomy vault, which forms a sort of chapel, is pointed out as the scene of the miracle. Near the southern margin of the lake, the road passes by some basaltic columns on the steep slope of the hill which descends to its shores. On leaving the lake, the road ascends a steep declivity connected with the basaltic hill, and commanding romantic views, on looking back over the scene of melancholy beauty. On the summit is seated the little town of Montefiascone,—' the habitation of Virgil's *Æqui Falisci.*'

The *malaria* which prevails on the borders of this lake, and which has led to the abandonment of the towns within reach of its influence, renders it undesirable, and even dangerous, to take this route during the heats of summer.* Montefiascone is famous for nothing but its sweet muscat wine, of which, we are told, a German

* The islands on the lake are said to be inhabited: they are probably safe. The borders of still waters are found the most insalubrious, where the rapid evaporation in summer diminishes the lake, and leaves a fatal moisture in the soil.

prelate was so enamoured, that he fell a victim to excess. It contains, however, a cathedral, said to be an early work of Sanmichele, which, though with an unfinished front, and not very beautiful in its details, has, both within and without, an air of magnificence. An old castle crowns the *apex* of the hill, and combines with the church and town, to form a fine object. A little way out of the city, is a curious old church, partly of an ornamental pointed architecture, and partly of a style approaching to Norman.*

To the north-east of Bolsena (and consequently out of the road to Rome) stands the ancient city of Orvieto (*Urbs-vetus* or *Herbanum*), situated on a perpendicular rock of tufo which crowns an insulated hill of the Siena clay. There is a road to this place from Bolsena, partly a Roman way, formed of large blocks of lava, but it is very bad. The only approaches to Orvieto, appear to be artificial. The city abounds with large palaces, which announce its former prosperity.† Its cathedral, founded in 1290, in memory of the alleged miracle at Bolsena, possesses considerable beauty, and is, at least to an architect, an interesting object. The great hall of the adjacent episcopal palace seems to have been a fine Gothic edifice,

* On a stone which forms part of the pavement at the foot of the altar in this church, is the well-known inscription—

'EST, EST, EST, PROPTER NIMIUM
EST, HIC IO DE YC D.
MEUS MORTUUS EST.'

† Designed chiefly by Ippolito Scalzi. The *Palazzo Si liana*, now a convent, and a very elegant structure, wa built by San-Gallo.

but is now a store-house. There are several other Gothic churches, but they have been modernized, and present nothing remarkable. That of *S. Michele*, Mr. Woods says, 'must have been an elegant little Saxon edifice in its original form;' nd *S. Lorenzo*, a little way out of the town, is a pleasing specimen of the architecture of Sanmichele. The famous well, constructed by San-Gallo, to supply the city with water during a siege, is now a useless curiosity.* Near Orvieto, the Chiana (*Clanis*) receives the little river Paglia, and soon falls into the Tiber.

Viterbo, the next stage from Montefiascone towards Rome, is a considerable place, containing twenty-eight convents and 13,000 inhabitants. It is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient *Fanum Voltumnæ*, celebrated as the spot where the general assembly of the Etruscan nations was held on solemn occasions. It is a curious-looking city, with numerous caverns in the perpendicular faces of the rocks bordering a little valley which passes through it. It is tolerably well built and well paved, is embellished with handsome fountains and some fine churches, but contains nothing worthy of detaining the traveller; and from the sickly appearance of the inhabitants, it would seem to be far from a healthy place.

Immediately above this city rises the volcanic hill of *Monte Cimino*, clothed with beautiful groves of oak and chestnut-trees, intermingled with Spanish broom and a rich variety of heaths. The ascent is a post in length. From the summit,

* Woods, vol. i. p. 322.

when the weather is clear, a very extensive view is obtained. The rocky point of Radicofani may be distinguished towards the north; to the east, towers the chain of the Apennines; and nearer, a little S. of E., the detached mountain of Soracte. Below, the *Lago di Vico* forms a beautiful object, bounded by steep, woody hills on one side, and with a country nearly flat on the other. It is said, that Rome itself is sometimes visible. Westward is seen the Mediterranean. The road descends to the shores of the Ciminian lake, a beautiful basin nearly three miles in circumference, which has been supposed to occupy the crater of a volcano. Here, the same luxuriant vegetation and the same insalubrious air prevail as at Bolsena. Not far from its shores stands the half-ruined town of Ronciglione, seated on the edge of a rocky chasm, and on a point of rock which divides the chasm into two parts.* The traveller may now be considered as entering upon the *Campagna di Roma*, 'a dreary waste, expanding to the skies.'

On the edge of the plain, at some distance from the high-road, is the site of the ancient Etruscan city of *Sutrium*, well worthy of detaining the traveller for a day. The first object that strikes the eye, is a perpendicular face of rock, to the left of the road, full of niches and ancient tombs, some with architectural façades cut in the rock, exhibiting traces of columns and pediments, or arches. A narrow valley divides these monuments from an

* Before the descent to Ronciglione, a narrow road leads off to Capraruola, a magnificent palace of the Farnese family, considered as one of the finest productions of Vignola.

insulated rock, which is also pierced with tombs and niches, now overgrown with shrubs and ivy. The principal object in this mass is an amphitheatre cut in the tufo, with a subterraneous corridor and vomitories. In a few places, a little brickwork has been made to supply deficiencies in the natural mass. Except the wearing away of the steps, the whole construction is nearly perfect. In another part of the hill is a little subterranean church, consisting of a nave and side-aisles. The vestibule is an ancient tomb; and a legend relating to some martyrs imprisoned here, assigns a motive for the formation of the church.

Sutri itself is seated on a long, rocky point; and here and there, a fragment of the ancient wall remains. Chambers have been also cut into this rock, but not to the same extent as in the neighbouring eminences. The modern town contains nothing worthy of particular notice. A magnificent bridge, erected in the eighteenth century, connected it with the adjoining hills; but this was destroyed, with great part of the town, as well as that of Ronciglione, by the French in 1798.*

The next post from Ronciglione is the village of Monterosi; a little beyond which, the Loreto and Siena roads join, falling into the *Via Cassia*. Travellers generally proceed to Baccano, for their night's lodging; a solitary village in the midst of a little, round, naked valley, which has all the appearance of a crater. The air of this place, however, is said to be particularly noxious. A hill rises to the south, on gaining the summit of which,

* Woods, vol. i. p. 324.

the dome of St. Peter's may be dimly descried in the midst of the desolate Campagna.

The route we have been tracing, through Siena, is the shortest road from Florence to Rome; but many travellers prefer that of Arezzo and Perugia, which, at Foligno, falls into the Ancona road. Part of the tract which it traverses, is, however, scarcely less insalubrious, during the heats of summer, than the country already described.

Arezzo (*Arretium*), the first place of importance on this route, is the second stage (about 34 miles) from Florence. The road lies over a series of calcareous hills, till it strikes the upper valley of the Arno, which Mr. Simond describes as still more richly productive than the lower valley, and still less picturesque;—'no verdure in the open country, except the pale olive-tree, and no shade about the few showy villas, but that of the funereal cypress.' On approaching Arezzo, the road suddenly loses the river, where it forms a sharp angle in changing its course from S.W. to W. and N.W.* A little beyond, the traveller crosses the lower part of the celebrated works of the Chiana,† one branch

* The source of the Arno is not far from Camaldoli, in the elevated district called the Casentine, famous for its chestnuts and its hams. The Casentine peasants are described by Forsyth as a hardy and simple race, although 'no favourites with Dante, who confounds the men with their hogs.'

† The *Val di Chiana*, half of which belongs to the territory of Siena, is 40 miles in length, and from 7 to 12 in breadth: it is laid out in cultivated fields, divided into rectangular inclosures, with ditches round every 10 or 12 acres,

of which river runs into the Arno, while part of the waters of the same valley flow into the Tiber.

Arezzo is seated partly on the declivity of a mountain, partly in a bottom. It is a neat and well-paved town, retaining, with the honours of an episcopal see, some vestiges of its ancient importance; but the population does not much exceed 7000 persons. There are remains of an amphitheatre, but they are inconsiderable. The cathedral is a fine specimen of the Italian Gothic. When Mr. Forsyth visited Arezzo in 1802, it was receiving a magnificent accession. 'Adimollo was painting there a chapel so disproportionately large, that it appeared a second cathedral, rather than a subordinate member; and all this for a little ugly figure of chalk, which had been lately found in the rubbish of a cellar. But this was the Madonna who headed their armies, and fought their battles, and prophesied their fate!'* Mr. Woods praises this chapel for the lightness and elegance of its general proportions, which strikingly contrast with the gloomy magnificence of the body of the cathedral, the bounds of which are totally lost among its clus-

and maples and elms, supporting vines, are planted on the banks of the ditches. Although below the level of the rivers, it is said to be not unhealthy. For an account of the agriculture of this district, see Cadell's Journey, vol. i. pp. 257—268. Chateauvieux, pp. 259—262.

* The events referred to were connected with what was at the time regarded as an insurrection of the people of Arezzo against the French authorities; which appears to have been marked by peculiar ferocity and fanaticism. At Siena, the insurgents are said to have committed great atrocities. See page 74. The sack of Arezzo by the French, in 1800, was the result.

tered columns. He thought it too gaudily painted, and the architecture is of a mixed style; but still, it is ' an elegant building, though quite out of all acknowledged rules.' The high altar of the cathedral is adorned with paintings by Vasari, and with bas-reliefs representing the miracles of S. Donato, second bishop of Arezzo, and the tutelar saint of the city. The monument of Bishop Guido Tarlati is embellished with representations of the battles between the Aretines and the Florentines. There is also a celebrated picture by Benvenuti, Judith and Holofernes.

The *Pieve* is a very singular structure. The Aretines say it was an ancient temple, which, says Mr. Woods, it certainly was not, although it may occupy the site of one; and it has all the appearance of being made up of fragments. The front has four stories of ornaments; and the tower which rises from it at one angle, has five stories more, full of little columns with fancy capitals, and exhibiting the wildest irregularity in all the details. Internally, the vaulting is composed of a mixture of semi-circular and of very obtusely pointed arches, like some of that in St. Mark's at Venice; and Mr. Woods conjectures, that it may be nearly of the date of the front galleries of that edifice (about 1100). The nave is not vaulted.

Arretium is supposed to have been one of the principal cities of the Etruscans. It was celebrated, in the earliest times, for its *terra-cotta* vases, which Pliny ranks with those of Samos and Saguntum. In the chapel of the Madonna, there are some bas-reliefs made of the earth of the country, which resembles porcelain. It was also famed

for its wine, and for an oracular fountain. Under the Romans, it became a colony and a municipal town, and was the birth-place of Mecænas, whose statue, the Aretines, ' proud of their fellow-citizen,' have erected in the public walk. Arezzo disputes with Incisa, the honour of having also given birth to Petrarch. If he was really born here, Mr. Forsyth remarks, he was only accidentally a native of this city.* ' But Redi and Pignotti, poets more delightful than he, are fairly her own.' Among the other illustrious natives of which Arezzo boasts, are Leonardo Aretino, the Florentine historian, Pietro Aretino, the scurrilous satirist, Guido, the inventor of musical notation, the laborious Vasari, and Pope Julius II. The Aretine peasantry are described by Mr. Forsyth in no very favourable terms. Still more forbidding than the Casentines, they seem, he says, to inherit the coarse, surly visages of their ancestors, satirized by Dante. On entering the *Val di Chiana*, he found the peasantry decidedly more civil and more industrious. ' This contrast in the manners of two cantons so near as Cortona to Arezzo, can only,' he remarks, ' be a vestige of their ancient rivality while separate republics.'

Cortona, rising amid its vineyards on the acclivity of a steep hill, with black mountains behind, has the effect, at a distance, of a picture hung against a wall. ' From *Santa Marguerita*, it commands a magnificent prospect of the Thrasimene and Clusian lakes, the mountains of Radicofani and Santa Fiora, the wide, variegated vale

* See page 146 of our second volume.

of Chiana, skirted with vine-covered hills, and beautifully strewed with white cottages, white *fattorias*, white villas, and convents of sober grey. . . The original walls of Cortona still appear round the city, as foundations to the modern, which were built in the thirteenth century. Those Etruscan works are the most entire towards the north. Their huge, uncemented blocks have resisted, on that side, the storms of nearly three thousand winters; while, on the south, they have yielded to the silent erosion of the *sirocco*. None of the stones run parallel; most of them are faced in the form of *trapezia;* some are indented and inserted in each other, like dove-tail. This construction is peculiar to the ruins in Tuscany: it is far more irregular, and therefore, probably, more ancient, than the Etruscan work of Rome. No part of these walls remains fortified. The French army which laid Arezzo open, has also demolished the few defences of Cortona.'*

The claims of this city to high antiquity are equalled by few other towns in Italy. It dates its origin from Pelasgic settlers, who made it their capital, and it was certainly one of the chief states of Etruria. It was subsequently colonized by the Romans. It contains, however, little to interest, besides its ancient walls, and a small sepulchral chamber a little below the town, which has received the name of the Grotto of Pythagoras. This is a building, however, not an excavation, being

* Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 115—118. Mr. Woods says, the walls of the city are not of the earliest style of Cyclopean masonry, but of that where the stones lie for the most part in courses nearly horizontal.

formed of large blocks of sandstone, and containing a room about seven feet square, with square recesses, probably for cinerary urns. It is interesting chiefly as indicating that the builders ‘ were without doubt acquainted with the principle of the arch, though afraid, perhaps, to confide much to it.’*

Cortona, being considered as the capital of ancient Etruria, was chosen as the seat of the Etruscan Academy established in 1726, and which formerly possessed a valuable museum of antiquities. Mr. Forsyth describes the city, in 1802, as swarming with antiquaries and nobles. ‘ Here,’ he says, ‘ are more than forty noble families in a town reduced to 4000 inhabitants;’ and society was miserably split by the punctilious pride of the order. Mr. Woods, in 1817, found that the museum had been dispersed, ‘ in order to save it from the Neapolitans’; and the fever had driven away the gentlemen of the place to their country residences, so that he could not gain admission to the private collections.

The Florence road passes through Camuscia, near the foot of the hill on which Cortona stands; and soon afterwards, at Ossaia, passes the boundary of Tuscany. This hamlet is said to take its name from the bones of those who fell in the famous battle of Thrasimene, so disastrous to the Romans; and a little stream which crosses the valley in which the Carthaginians laid their ambush, near the village of Passignano, seems, by its name of *Sanguinetto*, to bear record also of that

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 106.

bloody day. Ten thousand men are said to have been buried at Ossaia; and it is certain, that human bones are continually found there on turning up the soil.* A little beyond the Papal *dogana* at *Casa del Piano*, a lone house on the shore of the lake, the traveller reaches the bridge over the *Sanguinetto*, near which is seen an old Roman fort. Corn and vines now cover the 'field of blood;' and the rivulet flows clear as crystal into the lake.†

'Far other scene is Thrasimene now;
Her lake a sheet of silver, and her plain
Rent by no ravage save the gentle plough;
Her aged trees rise thick as once the slain
Lay where their roots are; but a brook hath ta'en—
A little rill of scanty stream and bed—
A name of blood from that day's sanguine rain;
And Sanguinetto tells ye where the dead
Made the earth wet, and turn'd the unwilling waters red.

The lake itself, which takes its modern name from the neighbouring city of Perugia, is a beautiful sheet of water, in some parts four miles across, and about 30 miles in circumference. It is bordered with gently sloping hills, everywhere covered with wood or with cultivation, well varied, though not very bold in their forms, and gradually rising, as they recede, into mountains. A noble view of

* Cramer, vol. i. pp. 216—218. Pennington, vol. i. p. 480.

† From Camuscia, a road leads off on the right, by *Monte Palisiano*, to the Baths of Chianciano, and to Chiusi, supposed to represent *Clusium Novum*. The ancient *Clusium* has the strongest claims to be ranked among the twelve cities of Etruria, since it was the capital of Porsenna, the early enemy of Rome. It is nearly on a line with Perugia, to the westward. The ancient *Via Cassia*, between Florence and Rome, led through Arezzo, Chiusi, and Bolsena.

its beautiful basin is obtained from the lofty hill of Torricella, over which the road passes on leaving the lake. It then again descends to a very fertile and well-watered country, which extends to the foot of the long hill on the top of which Perugia is built.

Perugia (*Perusia*) is a city scarcely inferior in antiquity to Cortona, and it was of equal rank among the confederate States of Etruria. In Roman history, it is mentioned as having resisted all the power of Hannibal, and as sustaining a memorable siege, in which Antony held out against Octavius Cæsar, till compelled by famine to surrender. Under the Emperor Justinian, it maintained a successful siege against the Goths.* It is still a considerable city, ranking next to Bologna in importance and population, in the Papal States. The inhabitants are rated at between 20,000 and 30,000. It possesses a university (founded in 1307) with 22 professors and about 200 students, several academies, and twenty convents, which the French, in 1798, 'emptied of their monks, their pictures, and their silver candlesticks.' The pictures have been restored, and the monks have returned, but, adds Mr. Simond, 'not the silver.' The paintings are chiefly by Pietro Perugino, the master of Raffael, who has left many admirable works in his native city. In the church of *S. Pietro*,

* In modern times, it has not been found impregnable. It was taken from the Florentines by the Duke d'Urbino, in 1522; and capitulated to the Prince of Orange in 1529. The present citadel was built by Pope Paul III., to curb the factious citizens.

belonging to the Benedictines, there are also some fine paintings by other masters.*

Perugia contains much curious architecture, some of Roman times. There is an arch ascribed to Augustus, but, Mr. Woods thinks, not of so early a date, the frieze of its entablature being ornamented with pilasters instead of triglyphs,—a license which seems to indicate a later period. A circular building covered with a wooden roof, like that of *S. Stefano Rotondo* at Rome, is said to have been an ancient temple, and is 'doubtless a Roman building, but of late times.' The columns, sixteen in number, have evidently been taken from buildings still more ancient: they are of granite, *cipolino*, *bigio-antico*, and *marmo greco*, and differ both in their sizes and their capitals. The *duomo* is Gothic: the interior, Mr. Woods says, would be beautiful, were it not so parti-coloured. The *Palazzo Pubblico* is an example of the 'Italian Gothic,' but is not handsome. The front of the church of *S. Francesco* is an interesting and very handsome specimen of the early Italian architecture: 'a simple rectangular front, surmounted by a pediment, includes the large arch; there is indeed too much ornament, but it is well disposed and well executed.'†

Three miles from Perugia, the traveller reaches

* For some tasteful criticisms on the paintings in Perugia, we may refer the reader to Mr. Williams, vol. i. pp. 257—261. Perugia, he says, 'abounds with the finest subjects for the pencil, as well as with innumerable works of art.'

† Woods, vol. ii. p. 104.

the boundary of ancient Etruria, at the Tiber, which is crossed by a steep, narrow, ancient bridge of five arches. The river, in this part, is not very broad, but has a large bed of stones. It here turns several mills, for which purpose, its waters have been dammed up so as to form an artificial cascade.* These mills, with the little straggling village of *Ponte S. Giovanni*, climbing a gentle acclivity, crowned with coppice-wood, and a few old oaks scattered round, form a rural picture which seems to blend with classic associations the character of English scenery. The traveller is now in Umbria. Four miles further, the road crosses, by a narrow bridge, the little river Tescia, flowing to the Tiber; and thence runs over a rich, level plain, to a post which takes its name from the splendid conventual church of *La Madonna d' Angioli*, built to cover the shrine at which St. Francis prayed. The architect was Vignola. Externally, there is no great display; but in the interior, the effect of the nave, with its vault unbroken by windows, is very fine. The only light is from those of the side-aisles. In the centre is a small Gothic building, which is an object of great veneration as having been occupied by the Saint.

On the hill above, about two miles out of the road, is the fine old town of Assisi (*Assisium*), very beautifully situated, where, in the ' sacred convent' said to be founded by himself, repose the remains of the Founder of the Franciscan order.

* The water of the Tiber, of a whitish colour, leaves a considerable deposite on the vegetation on its banks, occasionally producing singular petrifactions.

It is a neat city, with very steep streets; and contains a fine remain of antiquity in the portico of a Corinthian temple, almost entire. The cathedral has a curious Gothic front; and its nave, a continued vault, without groins and without windows, forming a comparatively dark avenue to a spacious and well lighted centre, has a very pleasing effect. The convent is a very extensive pile, finely placed. There are two churches, one over the other. The upper one is a simple Gothic hall, without side-aisles, containing some very interesting early paintings, and somewhat gaudily ornamented. The lower church is gloomy; but the high altar, brilliantly illuminated, derives a very picturesque effect from the darkened edifice. Altogether, Assisi is well worthy of being visited.*

A few miles further, the road passes by the almost ruined town of Ispello (*Hispellum*), where the remains of an amphitheatre, and of walls and gates now overgrown with ivy, attest its ancient importance as a Roman colony. At Foligno

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 289. Even to a traveller satiated with the architectural wonders of Rome, this city presents attractions; and a private letter in our possession strongly expresses the delight with which the accomplished Writer was inspired at sight of 'the first Gothic edifice,' on his return, at Assisi. The situation of the city, marked by a long line of aqueducts, columns, temples, and fortifications, stretching across the purple sides of the mountain, Mr. Simond describes as the most picturesque imaginable. St. Francis was born in 1182; died in 1226. The conventual church in which he lies, was begun two years before his death. The architect, according to Vasari, was a German, the father of Arnolfo di Lapo.

(*Fulginium*),* situated in the fine valley of Spoleto. the Perugia route falls into the Flaminian way, The *Madonna di Foligno*, of which this town once boasted, one of Raffael's finest pictures, now enriches the Vatican. In one of the convents, there is a Holy Family by this great master, unfinished, but interesting. The picture has been carefully outlined in bistre on a tanned leather ground, and evidently designed according to some ideal rule of beauty, circles having been described for the cheeks and nose of the Infant; and the same forms may be traced throughout the picture, which the Artist has finished carefully as he advanced. Foligno still contains also some curious relics of ancient art; particularly a silver statue, as large as life, executed with considerable taste.† The cathedral, dedicated to *S. Felice*, is Gothic in the exterior, but the interior has been modernized. It has a mosaic pavement, and some good frescoes. The high altar of the chapel of the Nuns of Bethlemme, is adorned with a painting by one of the Caracci, Our Saviour discovering himself to the disciples in the breaking of bread. Foligno has manufactories of wax and paper, and some inland trade; and a newspaper is published here,—a copy of the Roman gazette.

Before we proceed any further in this direction, we must now trace to this point the old Flaminian way from Rimini.

* 'This *dull* little town,' (Foligno). Sketches, &c., vol. iv. p. 16. 'The *busy, bustling*, dirty Foligno.' Morton, vol. i. p. 55.

† Williams, vol. i. p. 268.

That part of ancient Umbria, which, in later times, was denominated the Pentapolis, and which, in more modern geography, formed the dutchy of Urbino, is now included in the united delega tions of Pesaro and Urbino. Pesaro (*Pisaurum*), the first town after leaving Rimini, from which it is about 24 miles distant, is seated on a river which anciently bore the same name, now called the Foglia. It is a walled town, well built, and contains about 14,000 inhabitants. As the see of a bishop, it has of course its cathedral and the usual complement of churches and convents, with a handsome theatre; but, judging from the silence of our travellers, it contains nothing admirable.* Its climate, in ancient times, appears, from a reference to it in Catullus, to have been in bad repute for its insalubrity. The surrounding country is rich and well cultivated, producing wine, olives, and silk; and the figs of Pesaro are deemed the best in Italy.

About eight miles further, (chiefly along the sea-shore,) is Fano, which derives its name from a temple of Fortune, erected by the Romans after the memorable defeat of Asdrubal. 'One may still see,' says Addison, 'the triumphal arch erected

* 'Almost the only thing, says Mr. Woods, 'that excited my admiration at Pesaro, was a beautiful painting by Baroccio.' We know not how this city came to be chosen as the residence of the late unhappy Queen Caroline, when Princess of Wales, in 1818 and 1819. The villa she inhabited is about a mile from the city. In the pleasure-grounds are two monuments, one erected to the memory of the Duke of Brunswick, her brother, who fell at Waterloo, and the other to that of her lamented daughter, the Princess Charlotte of Wales.—Starke.

there to Augustus. It is, indeed, very much defaced by time; but the plan of it, as it stood entire, with all its inscriptions, is neatly cut upon the wall of a neighbouring building.' The site of the temple of Fortune is said to be occupied by the church of *S. Agostiniano.* The cathedral (for this is also an episcopal see) consists of a nave and side-aisles, but has nothing remarkable about it, unless it be some 'paintings by Domenichino.' There are several monasteries, a library, said to be valuable, a very spacious opera-house, and an academy,—all for a population under 8000 persons. The inhabitants are chiefly employed in the manufacture of silk. The first printing-press with a fount of Arabic types, that was ever employed in Europe, was established at Fano, in 1514, at the expense of Julius II.*

About a mile beyond Fano, the road crosses the Metaro (*Metaurus*), rendered memorable by the defeat of Asdrubal on its banks (A. U. C. 545). The field of battle, Dr. Cramer places higher up the river, on the left bank, near Fossombrone (*Forum Sempronii*), where the river begins to be enclosed between high and steep rocks. Tradition has there preserved a record of the event, in the name of a hill between Fossombrone and the pass of Furlo, called *Monte d'Asdrubale.* In winter, this is a strong and rapid stream, as is indicated by a very broad bed of stones, through which, in summer, two rivulets flow, about a foot in depth, which are crossed by a long wooden bridge. On the right bank of this river, not far from its source,

* Cadell, vol. ii p. 14.

is Urbania, the ancient *Urbinum Metaurense*. The other town of that name (*Urbinum Hortense*), now called Urbino, the capital of the dutchy, is situated in the mountains to the north of the defile of the Furlo, and about 10 miles W. of Fossombrone. It is an archiepiscopal see, and contains a small university or college, with a population of about 11,000 ; but is chiefly remarkable as the birth-place of the great master who derives from it his surname of D'Urbino. Being far out of any great road, it is rarely visited by the traveller.*

About 15 miles from Fano, pursuing the route along the coast, is Sinigaglia (*Sena Gallica*, so called to distinguish it from the Etruscan *Sena*, now Siena), seated on the right bank of the Misa, which has here the appearance of a canal, and empties itself into the sea about half a mile from the town. Its port is still frequented by small vessels; and one of the three great fairs of the Mediterranean† is held here, during the last week of July. The town has been regularly fortified with a mound and bastions, and the gates are handsome ; but the present fortifications would be of little avail in modern warfare. Its *duomo*, built in the form of a Greek cross, is said to contain some good paintings, but nothing very remarkable. When not enlivened by its fair, dulness broods over the broad and handsome streets of the city,

* Cramer, vol. i. pp. 257—260. Pennington, vol. ii. p. 175. Bramante, Baroccio and Polydore Virgil, were also natives of Urbino.

† Another is that held at Beaucaire, on the Rhone.

the resident population of which is much overrated by Mr. Pennington at 15,000.

Two posts (about 20 miles) along the sea-shore, conduct the traveller to Ancona, the most considerable city of the Pentapolis, and ranking as the third, in point of population, among the provincial capitals of the Roman States.* It is the first city on the coast of the ancient *Picenum*, which was divided from *Umbria* by the Esina (*Æsis*), a stream that falls into the Adriatic about half way between Sinigaglia and Ancona. This city is supposed to derive its name from the angular form of the promontory on which it stands. The ancient name of this bold head-land (*Cumerium promontorium*) is also preserved in the modern appellation of *Monte Comero*, otherwise called *Monte Guasco*. The foundation of Ancona is ascribed to the Syracusans or *Siculi*. It is mentioned in Roman history, as a naval station of some importance in the wars with the Illyrians, and was occupied by Cæsar soon after his passage of the Rubicon. The present port was made, or greatly improved, by Trajan; and the honorary arch is still standing, which the gratitude of the citizens raised to their benefactor. The port, Mr. Forsyth says, 'is large, safe, well-divided, beautiful. The Lazaretto is

* In Balbi's Tables, followed by Malte-Brun, Bologna is rated at 65,000; and Perugia and Ancona each at 30,000. Mr. Pennington, who generally overrates the population of the smaller places, sometimes extravagantly, by a singular moderation, assigns to Perugia only 10,000, and to Ancona 'about 20,000, of whom 2000 are Jews.' The Marquisate of Ancona comprehended the tract between the dutchy of Urbino and the march of Fermo.

such as the Adriatic requires; a strong capacious pentagon, rising magnificently in the sea. The ancient part of the mole is crowned by Trajan's arch, and the modern by a Pope's. But what business has a priest with triumphal arches? And what business has any arch on a mole? Arches like these suppose a triumph, a procession, a road, the entry into a city. The mole of Trajan called for a different monument. Here, an historical column like his own, might have risen into a Pharos, at once to record his naval merits, to illuminate his harbour, and to realize the compliment which the Senate inscribed on this arch, by making the access to Italy safer for sailors.'* Whatever force there may be in these remarks, the arch, which is of white marble, of pleasing proportions, and in good preservation, has a noble and magnificent appearance, to which, Mr. Woods remarks, its situation greatly contributes. From various holes observable, it is probable that it was adorned with figures and ornaments of metal; but of these, no trace remains.

The interior of the town does not correspond to its striking appearance from a distance, the streets being for the most part narrow and mean; but it is a lively, bustling place for an Italian city, and many families come here to pass some of the

* Forsyth, vol. ii. p. 98. The medal struck in commemoration of Trajan's munificence to Ancona, is very common. The pontiff who made Ancona a free port, was Clement XII. Pius VI., whose statue adorns the *Piazza Grande*, was also a great benefactor to the city. But the lazaretto and new pier were constructed by Benedict XIV., to whom the arch is erected.

weeks of summer. The cathedral, finely planted on the edge of the promontory overlooking the harbour, occupies the site of the temple of Venus, the favourite deity of the ancient Anconese. The present structure, built by Margaritone, an architect of the thirteenth century, is described by Mr. Woods as a curious, but by no means beautiful edifice. 'The roofs are so combined, that the whole rises in a sort of tent-like form, not ungracefully, and it is crowned with a dome upon a lofty drum, the former being covered with varnished tiles of different colours. The porch is formed by a semi-circular arch supported on columns, which again rest on figures of animals; and these are completely worked round, so as to exhibit the false bearing of the columns, on which, probably, the artist prided himself. The doorway is ornamented with a series of columns supporting pointed arches, diminishing in width as they approach the opening. There is a small circular window over the porch, and a range of simple arches, forming part of the enrichment under the raking cornice. The inside forms a Greek cross, but has little to recommend it.' In a subterranean chapel is shewn the tomb of *San Cyriaco*, the patron saint, and those of two other protectors of the church.

Mr. Woods mentions, as also deserving of notice, a curious little church dedicated to *Sta. Maria della Piazza Collegiata*, which he attributes to the eleventh or the early part of the twelfth century. 'The front is covered with small semi-circular arches, each formed of one enriched moulding, and resting on little columns imitated from

the Corinthian. All the ornaments exhibit a good deal of Roman taste; but there is certainly nothing Roman in the disposition. The gable, instead of being carried up to a point, is cut off by a horizontal line.'*

In the civil or domestic architecture of Ancona, there is little that is good in itself, or interesting to the antiquary, except some pointed arches and ornaments of the middle ages. The Exchange is a handsome room with a balcony overlooking the sea. Mr. Forsyth pays an elegant compliment to the personal attractions of the women of Ancona. 'Wherever there is wealth or even comfort in Italy, the sex runs naturally into beauty; and where should beauty be found if not here—

"Ante Domum Veneris quam Dorica sustinet Ancon?"'

The road, now turning from the coast, runs for twelve miles over an undulating country, well cultivated, but by no means picturesque or beautiful, to Osimo (*Auximum*), seated on a lofty acclivity. It then descends to the valley watered by the little river Misio (or Musone), from which another very long ascent leads up to the hill on which stands the far-famed, populous, 'miserable, little town' of Loreto, about three miles from the sea. This is the Mecca of Italy; and although the trade in rosaries, crosses, &c., is said to have greatly fallen off, thousands of pilgrims still repair every year to worship the Holy House, the *Kaaba* of the Romanists. The *duomo*, which incloses the pretended habitation of the Virgin, is very large, occupying one side of an oblong piazza, which would

* Woods, vol. ii. pp. 138, 9.

have been very handsome, had it been finished according to the original design. The architect of the church is said to have been Bramante.* It has little to recommend it, though it has been styled magnificent. The nave, which is in 'a sort of Gothic style,' with square piers having a little shaft at each angle, has, according to Mr. Woods, 'neither richness, lightness, nor the appearance of solidity. Beyond the nave is an octagonal space covered with a cupola; and there are three tribunes, forming the arms of the cross; but even this part is not handsome.' Immediately under the cupola stands the *Santissima Casa.* 'This appears to be built of Apennine limestone, but it is so polished with kisses, and blackened with the smoke of the lamps, that it is difficult to tell what it is. Instead of a roof, it is covered with a vault, which is confessedly modern, the old timber work having decayed. Externally, it is encrusted with a coat of white (Carrara) marble, with Corinthian columns and rich ornaments, the architecture of Bramante, and good of its kind,'—but of a kind not very admirable.† The history of the Virgin is the principal subject of the bas-reliefs; and there are statues of the Sibyls and the Prophets, which Addison praises as very finely wrought. The room which it encloses is about 31 feet by 13. In a niche once fenced in with solid gold, now with gilt wood, stands the cedar image, in a dress glit-

* If so, it cannot be, as pretended, from the design of Michael Angelo, who did not attend to architecture till some years after Bramante's death.

† Woods, vol. ii. p. 139.

tering with precious stones, before which thousands bow down in abject idolatry.

'On entering the church at five in the morning,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'I was surprised to find crowds so early in the *Santa Casa*, and masses at every altar. This holy house and its saint struck me as examples of that contrast which the Church of Rome affects, in consecrating ugliness. The one is a mean, brick-looking hovel, incased in a shell of sculptured marble; the other a black, smoked, wooden figure, glittering in jewels and brocade. Seldom is the gift of miracles ascribed to an object of beauty.* When this Virgin returned from France, (for she has been a traveller as well as her house,) a new deposite was opened to replace the treasures which had vanished. The Pope presented two golden crowns; and a priest sits fronting the door to receive and register donations. But most of the pilgrims whom I found there, appeared as poor as they were pious. They knelt round the furrow which devotion has worn on the pavement.'†

* St. Luke has the credit of this figure, which is about four feet high, and exhibits the features as well as complexion of a negro. The Romish commentators apply to the Virgin, Cant. i. 5.—'I am black, but comely'; but they disregard what follows: 'Look not upon me because I am black.' The ugliness of this figure may vouch, perhaps, for its antiquity, superstition being older than art. Most miraculous images and idols of potency are sublimely ugly.

† Forsyth, vol. ii. p. 97. Poor pilgrims are maintained during their journey, and are received into a hospital, where they are lodged and boarded for three days. To them, therefore, the journey is an excursion of pleasure as well as devotion. The chief concourse is at Easter and Whitsuntide.

The riches of the treasury of this church are said to have been formerly valued at fifteen millions of crowns. Addison mentions an offering that had recently been made by the Queen Dowager of Poland, which had cost 18,000 crowns. 'Silver,' he says, 'can scarcely find admission, and gold itself looks but poorly among such an incredible number of precious stones.' Few of these treasures escaped pillage in the late revolutions; but the spirit which led to the rich accumulation, is not extinct. Among the recent benefactors rank several of the Bonaparte family, although not Napoleon himself; and a few good paintings, some elegant gold cups, and other plate enriched with pearls and precious stones, have again been collected. The treasury itself is a large and very handsome room, with a coved ceiling painted in fresco. In the *spezieria* (dispensary) attached to this church, are shewn a large collection of jars of earthenware, painted with historical subjects, from designs (it is *said*) by Raffael—*or* Giulio Romano.

The legend respecting this clumsy imposture is, that in the year 1291, the house of the Holy Virgin at Nazareth was transported through the air by angels, and planted near Tersato in Dalmatia. Three years afterwards, it was conveyed in the same miraculous manner across the Adriatic, to a spot near Recanati; and it finally removed itself to the lands of a noble lady named Lauretta, where the present city of Loreto has since been built, and having been enclosed in a splendid church, was secured against further migration.* 'Who-

* There are variations in the accounts, which are not

ever were the first inventors of this imposture,' remarks Addison, 'they seem to have taken the hint of it from the veneration that the old Romans paid to the cottage of Romulus which stood on Mount Capitol, and was repaired from time to time as it fell to decay.' Other precedents, however, might easily be found in the superstitions of heathenism; and the legend of Loreto is evidently an importation from the East. How this spot came to be pitched upon for the *Casa Santa*, does not appear. It has been the usual policy of the inventors of such fables, to select for their purpose, the site of some ancient temple, or a spot already consecrated by superstition; and the situation of Loreto can hardly have been unoccupied in ancient times. Yet, the learned industry of Mr. Cramer and his predecessors, has not enabled them to identify it with any town or temple of classic name.*

About five miles from Loreto, on the Macerata road, is Recanati (*Ricinetum*), seated, in like man-

very material. According to some authorities, Lady Lauretta's land was a field in the plain, which happened to be frequented by robbers. Of this circumstance, the angels were not aware when they chose the spot; and they accordingly removed it to the present eminence. Pococke was shewn the spot at Nazareth, 'from which the holy house of Loreto was removed;' and a more recent traveller (Mr. Joliffe) tells us, that there are indentures in the wall, to designate the space the apartment occupied, about 12 or 14 feet by 8. The house has grown since its removal, its inner dimensions being now, as stated above, more than 30 feet by 13 or 14, and about 18 feet in height at the sides!

* No ancient place of note occurs between *Numana* (now Humana) and *Potentia*.—See Cramer, vol. i. p. 282.

ner, on the top of a long and lofty hill, which rises between the valleys of the Musone and the Potenza. This is a town of between four and five thousand inhabitants, containing a cathedral, in which is the monument of Pope Gregory XII., who died in 1417. This church had been, in 1820, recently endowed with the privileges of a *basilica* by the reigning pontiff. About a mile from the *Porto di Recanati*, at the mouth of the Potenza, the monastery of *Sta. Maria di Potenza* marks the site and preserves the name of the colonial city of *Potentia*.

The next river which occurs, is the Chienti (*Flusor*); and on the elevated ground which divides its valley from that of the Potenza, stands Macerata, the capital of the united delegations of Macerata and Camerino, containing about 12,000 inhabitants. It is, of course, an episcopal see, and has a university, founded so recently as 1824, by Leo XII., with a library of 20,000 volumes. There are also three convents and a public seminary. Forsyth describes it as containing ' a number of *palazzi*, and therefore a swarm of provincial nobility.' One of its churches, built in an elliptical form, is noticed by Mr. Woods as handsome, and contains some good paintings. In general, however, travellers pass through this town in too much haste to bestow attention upon its edifices, as it contains nothing antique, and its most interesting feature is the fine view which it commands of the Adriatic. About two or three miles from Macerata, near the right bank of the Potenza, the remains of a theatre of considerable size, with vaults and foundations of other edifices,

are supposed to mark the site of *Helvia Ricina*, colonized by Septimius Severus.*

The peasants of Macerata are described by Forsyth, as observing an established uniform in dress, of which orange appears to be the prevailing colour. ‘ So constant are the women of this class to local costume, that the female head becomes a kind of geographical index. At Macerata, they adhere to the ancient mode of plaiting and coiling the hair, which they transfix with long silver wires tipped at both ends with large knobs.* At Recanati, they hang golden bells to their ear-rings, three or four to each chime, jingling like the *crotalia* of the Roman matrons. At Loreto, they adjust the handkerchief to their heads, in the style of their Madonna. All the young men bind their hair in coloured nets; an ancient affectation of female attire, as appears from Juvenal's censure of the thing. No where could I see that gracefulness, or even that simplicity, so much admired in the rural costume. In this country, whenever the peasant is fine, he is frightful.’†

The route to Foligno now ascends the Chienti,

* Higher up, on the left bank of the same river, at a place called Montecchio, are the ruins of *Treia*, a town of municipal rank. San Severino, higher up on the opposite bank, answers to *Septempeda*.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 287. Mr. Woods was told that, not far from Macerata, coal has been found, but in small quantity and pyritous. Further westward, however, considerable beds are said to exist, of good quality.

* ‘ This was the *acus crinalis*, and its knobs usually bore a figure of Venus, Cupid, &c. The knobs here also are carved or stamped.’

† Forsyth, vol. ii. p. 96.

to Tolentino (*Tollentinum*), situated on its left bank, at the foot of the first green slopes of the Apennines. The approach to the mountains in this direction is very beautiful. The scenery is not Alpine, but is composed of high, wooded hills of varied forms, with a bright stream at the bottom, by which the road afterwards runs, winding among the mountains for nearly twenty miles, without ascending any. Tolentino, which anciently ranked as a municipal town, is a small place, neatly built; famous only as containing the sainted remains of St. Nicholas, which are worshipped with great devotion, and for a treaty of peace concluded here between Napoleon and the Papal Court in 1797.

The next post is to Val Cimara, a small mountain village; beyond which, the Apennines assume a wilder character, and the number of torrents which intersect the road, render it dangerous after heavy rains. The scenery is, in general, far from beautiful, the mountains rising, on this side, in naked, rounded acclivities, as gentle as the descent on the opposite side is abrupt. Near *Ponte alla Trava*, where the Chienti runs with great force among the rocks, the road has been cut through the rock: in front is a fort, upon a lofty pinnacle, commanding the narrow pass. About eight miles on the other side of the bridge, is another strong pass, called Serra Valle, where also are the ruins of a castle that once commanded the road and village. Here, the traveller, quitting the March (or Marquisate) of Ancona, enters the province of Umbria, and begins to descend to the

plain of Foligno, distant from Serra Valle two posts, or about 20 miles.*

The ancient province of *Picenum*, which was separated from Umbria and the Sabine country by the central chain of the Apennines, extended along the coast from the *Æsis* to the *Matrinus* (Piomba). The only places of importance south of the Chienti, and north of the Neapolitan frontier, are, Camerino, Fermo, and Ascoli, each the capital of a small diocese. Camerino, seated near the foot of the Apennines, is a place of some little consequence, being the see of an archbishop, and containing a university, founded in 1824, nineteen convents, and a large cathedral furnished with some valuable paintings. It has also silk-manufactories, which occasion some trade. The inhabitants are about 7000. Its territory, extending over the mountainous region between the sources of the Potenza and the Tronto, is now united with that of Macerata in one province. To the east of Camerino are the maritime districts of Fermo and Ascoli. Fermo (the ancient *Firmum Picenum*, or *Col. Augusta Firma*), situated about five miles from the sea, is a place of some trade, and its port is still frequented by small vessels. The population is estimated at 7000. This city was the birthplace of Lactantius. Ascoli (*Asculum*), seated on a lofty hill which divides the valleys of the Tronto (*Truentus*) and the Castellano, retains a portion of its ancient importance, as the chief place in the united legations of Fermo and Ascoli. It

* The distance from Loreto to Foligno is stated by Mr. Cadell to be 60 miles.

contains 12,000 inhabitants, with eight convents and the usual complement of churches. The obscure limits of the Papal and Neapolitan dominions appear to be now marked by the course of the Tronto: the remainder of the ancient *Picenum*, which seems to have been always an equivocal border territory, is included in the province of Abruzzo.*

The more direct route from Rimini to Foligno, diverges from the Loreto road at Fano, corresponding to a branch of the *Via Flaminia*. This route, now known as the Furlo road, lies along the Metauro to Fossombrone, enters the Apennines by the defile of Furlo, and ascends with the Cantiano, to Cagli (*ad Calem*) and Scheggia (*ad Ensem*); whence it descends to Sigillo (*Helvillum*) and Nocera (*Nuceria*).† This road, which, as far as *La Scheggia*, traverses the dutchy of Urbino,‡ was taken by Mr. Cadell in returning from Rome in 1818. The pass of the Furlo, called also *Sasso Forato*, (the ancient *Petra Pertusa*,) he describes as a magnificent work. The Cantiano,§ at this part of the route, runs for some distance between

* See Cramer, vol. i. pp. 284—289. The ancient name of *Prætutia*, by which this territory was known, corrupted, in the middle ages, into *Aprutium*, gives the derivation of Abruzzo.

† Cramer, vol. i. pp. 293, 4.

‡ Francesco della Rovere, the last duke of Urbino, died in 1631, leaving the principality to the Holy See as his feudal superior. Julius II. was of this family. The dutchy comprised an area of about 30 miles square.

§ The Cantiano falls into the Metauro to the east of Fossombrone.

high, perpendicular rocks, which rise abruptly from the river. The road has been formed with great labour in the side of the rock on the left bank, and, for nearly 126 feet, passes through the tunnel which has given name to the defile. An ancient inscription cut in the rock, records its construction by order of Vespasian. Near Cagli, a stream which flows into the Cantiano, is crossed by a Roman bridge, called *Ponte Manlio*. The central arch, composed of nineteen large stones, is 39 feet in span. Cagli is a small neat town on the side of *Monte Petrano*, just within the defile of *Le Scalette*. It is a place of some trade, derived from its tanneries and the manufacture of fowling-pieces; and its appearance is far superior to the small mountain towns of Sigillo, Nocera, and others on this route, which 'look like the habitations of assassins.' Some of them consist of only a few houses clustered together on an eminence, few of which have glass windows. A little beyond Cagli, are three large Roman conduits for conveying the torrents under the road into the valley; and the Cantiano is crossed by a massive Roman bridge, called *Ponte Grosso*. The road passes for some way through a narrow defile, between mountains of hard chalk, containing alternate flat layers of brown flint. Beyond the pass are seen *strata* of a clayey shale, alternating with a kind of clay iron-stone; and above this occurs a schistous transition limestone. Between Cantiano and Sigillo, near *La Scheggia*, the waters divide, flowing on one side into the Adriatic by the Metauro; on the other, into the Mediterranean by the Tiber.

The bridge of *La Scheggia,* designed by the engineer Fabri of Fossombrone, and forming part of the restoration of the Flaminian Way undertaken by order of Pius VI., deserves description. Its foundation consists of a single arch thrown across a deep ravine, and supported at each extremity by rocks. 'Above the arch is a large cylindrical perforation, composed of an entire circle, 65 feet in diameter. It is called *Ponte a Botte,* the tun-shaped bridge. The depth, from the foot of the parapet to the bottom of the ravine, is 230 feet. The wings of the bridge, over which the road passes, are formed internally of two or three tiers of arches, which counteract the pressure of the circular aperture, and are concealed by the side walls.'*

At Cantiano, Sigillo, Nocera, and other stages along this route, are small castles, (called *rocce,*) built in the middle ages, to guard the passes between Romagna and Rome; but, though a characteristic feature, they have little in their aspect that is grand or picturesque. Nocera, which is in the dutchy of Spoleto, ranks as an episcopal city, but is now a mere village, famous for nothing but its mineral waters. From this place, it is a stage of fifteen miles to Foligno.

Throughout the tract traversed by this road, as far as Fossombrone, no chestnut-trees, Mr. Cadell

* Cadell, vol. ii. p. 6. 'In constructing this bridge, which was finished in 1805, the foundations of the ancient town of *Lucevoli* were discovered.' Not far from this, and near the ruins of the temple of the Apennine Jupiter, were found, in 1444, the Eugubine Tables, (so named from the neighbouring town of Gubbio or Ugubbio,) exhibiting a specimen of the ancient Umbrian dialect and Etruscan character.

says, are to be seen, although they are so numerous as to supply the chief food of the mountaineers in other parts of the Apennines. The oak and the walnut-tree are met with; and elms are frequent in the cultivated parts, where vines are sometimes trained upon them. Near Sigillo and Fossombrone, the fields are enclosed by hawthorn hedges.*

The remainder of the Flaminian Way, leading through *Mevania* (Bevagna), *Spoletium*, *Interamna* (Terni), *Narnia*, and *Ocriculum* (Otricoli), corresponds to the modern Perugia route.

Mevania, formerly one of the most considerable towns of Umbria,† famous for its rich pastures, which supplied the Roman triumphs with the 'milk-white steer,' is represented by the obscure village of Bevagna, seated near the junction of the little rivers Timia (*Tinia*) and Topino, about four miles from Foligno.‡ Of the several streams which united to form the Tinia, the most copious, as well as the most celebrated, was the Clitumnus. Near the post-house of *La Vene*, stands a small ancient temple, which has been converted into a chapel; and close to it rises a small stream, which still bears the name of *Clitunno*. Although the structure itself cannot be the temple of Clitumnus, which the younger Pliny describes as ancient in his time,§ it might be thought to mark its site with

* Cadell, vol. ii. p. 4—14.

† Mevania was the birth-place of Propertius.

‡ Five miles further, the little town of Trevi, curiously built upon a steep rock, the houses rising one behind another, like a ladder, represents the ancient *Trebia*.

§ 'Instead of columns bescratched with the nonsense of an album, here are columns coupled in the middle of the front, to correspond with those on the *antes*, a thing not

sufficient certainty, were it not the delight of antiquaries to render every thing doubtful by their learned disputations. The authority of Pliny has been cited for placing both the true source and the temple of the Clitumnus nearer Bevagna; and it is admitted to be a difficulty in the way of the received opinion, that, when the learned Roman saw and described the Clitumnus, the fountain spread at once into a considerable stream. But the authority of the Poet may perhaps be held paramount; and, spite of all objections, the following lines have fixed the tradition to this consecrated spot, and identified *Le Vene di Campello* (or *di Piscignano*) with the source of the classic stream:—

> 'And on thy happy shore, a temple still,
> Of small and delicate proportion, keeps
> Upon a mild declivity of hill,
> Its memory of thee: beneath it sweeps
> Thy current's calmness; oft from out it leaps
> The finny darter with the glittering scales,
> Who dwells and revels in thy glassy deeps,
> While, chance, some scattered water-lily sails
> Down where the shallower wave still tells its bubbling tales.'

found in any classical antiquity; here are spiral columns, which, so far from being characters of early art, are corruptions of its decline.'—Forsyth, vol. ii. p. 94. Mr. Woods pronounces it to be, probably, not much more ancient than Constantine. Mr. Hobhouse, in an elaborate 'illustration' of the description furnished by Lord Byron, endeavours to obviate Mr. Forsyth's objection; remarking, that 'the interior is allowed to have been modernized, and that what is now seen, is only the western portico and the exterior of the cell of the ancient fane.' (See Hobhouse; Hist. Illust., pp. 35—42.) Mr. Woods cannot understand to what Mr. Hobhouse's story about the demolition of part of the porticoes can possibly refer; and he points out several inaccuracies in his representation; adding, that 'the workmanship of the whole thing is as bad as the design.'—Woods, vol. ii. p. 103.

Spoleto is externally one of the most picturesque cities in Italy; but its grandeur of appearance has the semblance only of classic antiquity. Its 'tremendous aqueduct,' as Forsyth styles it, 'was the work of a Goth,' and its finest edifices are the memorials of its Lombard Dukes. The city is built on the slope of a rocky hill, which appears to be entirely insulated, the neck being so low as to be scarcely observable. The aqueduct, crossing the deep and narrow valley which separates this hill from the general mass of mountains, and serving both as a conduit and a bridge, rests upon a range of ten pointed arches of enormous height.* The water is collected from two or three springs among the mountains, and falls 30 or 40 feet before passing the aqueduct. Advantage of this fall has been taken to build a mill; and the same stream which furnishes a supply of water to the town, also grinds its corn. The citadel, a vast stone building, surrounded with a stone rampart, crowns a lofty point

* 'This pointed-arched fabric, which has no ornamental moulding, was built about the year 500, in the reign of Theodoric.... Spoleto was on the road between Theodoric's royal residence, Ravenna, and Rome, which then had only the second rank among the cities of his kingdom; and in his reign of thirty-three years, the country round Spoleto was improved by the draining of the marshy ground in the valleys.'—Cadell, vol. i. pp. 276, 7. Eustace asserts the aqueduct to be Roman, and repaired by the Goths; but he is always wrong. Mr. Woods says, that it is 'in fact the work of a Roman cardinal in the fifteenth century;' a singular error. He makes the height of the arches nearly 250 feet high; adding, that 'some of them are divided into two in height, and others have been so.' Woods, vol. i. p. 102. Addison styles it a Gothic structure, 'not to be equalled for its height by any other in Europe. They reckon from the foundation of the lowest arch to the top, 230 *yards!*' Such are the discrepancies in the accounts of our best travellers.

overlooking the town. Built by Theodoric, it was destroyed during the Gothic war, and repaired by Narses, the rival and successor of Belisarius. The cathedral, which dates from the era of the Lombard dukes, presents, on a commanding situation, a front of five Gothic arches, supported by Grecian columns, having been partially modernized. An arched gateway, through which the street passes in ascending the hill, is called the *Porta Fuga* and *Porta d' Annibale*, from the tradition, that Hannibal, who attacked *Spoletium* immediately after his victory at Thrasimene, was here repulsed. Another plain Roman arch within the city, bears the name of the Arch of Drusius. Some other fragments of Roman antiquity exist; among them is a bridge which has not been discovered many years. The torrent which it once crossed, having changed its bed, this bridge had remained buried for centuries. In the conventual church of S. Andrea, a quarter of a mile from the town, there are remains of an ancient temple, consisting of some fluted Corinthian columns of the *pavonazzato* marble, round which the modern edifice has been built; but they do not indicate a good period of Roman art. There are also said to be ruins of a theatre. Internally, Spoleto is a mean and inconsiderable place, with steep and dirty streets, and contains only about 7000 inhabitants. It is interesting chiefly as a landscape, in which the vague associations connected with the names of Hannibal and Theodoric, the Roman, the Goth, and the Lombard, blend the picturesque of history with all that is beautiful in scenery,—the castle, the gigantic aqueduct, the river with its bridge, and the wood-clad declivity of

Monte Luco rising behind, spotted with ' white patrician hermitages.'*

Between Spoleto and Strettura, the road to Terni winds over a branch of the Apennines, called the *Monte Somma*, which rises about 3738 feet above the sea. The road passes, in fact, through a very winding opening in the mountain, which affords some pleasing scenery, but without any very striking feature, nor does it command any extensive view.† A long descent leads down into the fertile and beautiful vale of Terni, watered by the two branches of the Nar, whence the town derived its ancient name of *Interamna*, of which the present appellation is a corruption.

Terni is supposed, on the strength of an ancient inscription, to have been founded in the reign of Numa, about eighty years after Rome; and it became one of the most distinguished cities of municipal rank in Italy. It claims the honour of having given birth to Cornelius Tacitus, the Historian, and to the Emperors Tacitus and Florianus. Few memorials of those early times remain. The only antiquities consist of a few vaults of what was

* From Spoleto, in the twelfth century, originated the Ursini family, the rivals and antagonists of the Colonna family at Rome, whose feuds kept the city of Rome in a state of perpetual civil disorder for 250 years. The Ursini were Guelfs; the Colonna, Ghibelines. There have been two popes of the Ursini family, Celestin III. and Nicholas III.

† The ilex (*lecce*) abounds in this part, and the declivities are clothed with box intermixed with clematis viorna, Spanish broom, and *helleborus viridis*. The Judas-tree (*cercis siliquastrum*) is also seen; and the *Erica Mediterranea* attains a height of 6 feet. Truffles grow in this district.—Cadell, vol. i. p. 279.

once an amphitheatre, in the garden of the Episcopal palace; some walls of reticulated work; the supposed vestiges of the temple of Hercules, under the college of *San Siro;* and what is called the temple of the Sun, in the church of *S. Salvador*,—'a small circular building, the under part (Mr. Woods thinks) of the lower empire, and the upper still later;' besides a few inscribed marbles built into the walls, in different parts of the town, and ruins of baths in the *casina* of the *Casa-Spoda.* Terni has its cathedral, containing a very splendid high altar, rich in marbles and lapis-lazuli; but the modern buildings are scarcely worth attention, and the general appearance of poverty and misery mars the beauty of the place.

The great object of attraction, the celebrated *Cascata della Marmore*, is between four and five miles from Terni. For nearly three miles, the road ascends the valley of the Nar, clothed with copses of evergreen oak. At Perpigno, the road divides, the upper road leading to the top of the fall, and the lower one to the bottom. The upper road ascends very rapidly the slope of a limestone hill, and then, for about three quarters of a mile, lies over ground nearly level, and sounding hollow to the tread, bearing everywhere traces of the course of the water, and formed, indeed, from its concretions. The channel in which the water runs, above the falls, is about 51 feet in width; the descent is one foot in twenty; and the rapidity of the current, about seven miles an hour. The traveller is conducted to different points, to look down on this tremendous cascade: the best view is from a little summer-house, on a projecting

point considerably below the brow, said to have been built for the accommodation of Napoleon. The lower part of the cataract is not visible at this point, but the river is seen rushing among rocks, and precipitating itself in a succession of falls over a perpendicular precipice; losing itself in thunder amid the foam and spray of the gulf below. The first fall takes place where the stream is yet confined among the rocks of the channel, which is there much broken, and may have an elevation of 40 or 50 feet. The second fall is a perpendicular descent of between 500 and 600 feet. It afterwards strikes against a rock, and rushes down repeated falls, so close as to form almost one continued sheet of foam, for 240 feet more, into the Nar; so that the whole descent is upwards of 800 feet.*

* These measurements are given by Mr. Woods, on the authority of '*Ricerche istoriche e fisiche sulla Caduta della Marmore*, &c., *per Giuseppe Riccardi*. Spoleto, 1818.' This 'very distinct and well-written account,' says Mr. Woods, 'bears internal marks of authenticity and correctness, though I confess that, if I had to guess the height, I should not have said more than between 400 and 500 feet, including everything; but, in these great elevations, the judgement gets lost for want of sufficient objects of comparison. The "*Itinerario d' Italia*," not content with this height, great as it is, assigns a fall of 1063 French feet.' Woods, vol. ii. p. 101. The guesses of most of our Travellers are not chargeable with exaggeration. Mr. Cadell makes the height of the fall, 368 palms or 266 feet. Mr. Hakewill, with strange inaccuracy, reduces it to 200 feet. They must refer of course only to the principal fall. Mrs. Starke allows 300 feet to the first leap, and between 400 and 500 to the 'two others united;' meaning, probably, the sum of the three.

H. Adlard sc

CASCADE OF TERNI.

London. Published by J. Duncan. Paternoster Row. 1834.

The view of the Falls from below, is, however, far to be preferred, if the traveller has time for only one; and the approach by the lower road, is described by Mr. Woods as not less worth seeing than the cascade itself. The traveller descends from Perpigno into the bottom, crosses the river, and proceeds for some way along its banks, lined with rows of orange-trees and vineyards, and afterwards through groves of full-grown ilex, between impending rocks, till he finds himself opposite to the Falls, in all their magnificence;

Charming the eye with dread, a matchless cataract.'

Here he finds that, after all he has contemplated from the upper part, the river still bounds from rock to rock before it unites with the Nar; although the direction of the different parts is so various, that it is impossible to catch the whole at one view. Altogether,—the tremendous height of the fall, the vast volume of water, the colour and shape of 'the rocks of jet' or velvet black, in contrast with the pure, sparkling white of the spray, the vivid green of the grass and mosses which it perpetually moistens, the grotesque configuration of the calcareous incrustation which it forms, and the brilliant rainbow which, 'beneath the glittering morn,' or in the evening sunshine, arches the stream,—

'—— unworn
Its steady dies, while all around is torn
By the distracted waters;'—

combine with the richness and beauty of the sur-

rounding scenery, to form a picture of perhaps unequalled beauty.*

The appearance which these Falls assume in winter, is represented as very striking, notwithstanding that the elevation of the valley (less than 500 feet above the sea) is not so considerable as to lead us to expect much effect from frost. According, however, to a native writer, 'the ice accumulating at the bottom of the precipice, then forms itself into enormous masses, which appear like the disproportioned columns of some huge pile of building; while the icicles hanging from above, seem as if they would lengthen themselves to the bottom of the gulf. The river itself, increased in volume, brings down various substances of different colours, which unite the beautiful to the sublime effect produced by the vast rush of water and masses of ice; and this is further heightened by the vertical rainbows of more than a semi-circle, which exhibit themselves in the spray, and by a number of other horizontal ones.'† This account

* 'In any point of view, either from above or below,' Lord Byron says, 'it is worth all the cascades and torrents of Switzerland put together.' The falls of the Giesbach, however, are described by Mr. Matthews as 'second only to Terni.' 'The fall itself,' Mr. Woods thinks, 'may be rivalled by those of Tivoli, though here is more water and greater height; but nothing at Tivoli or at any other place that I have seen,' he adds, 'can afford a parallel to the valley by which we approach it.' Mr. Matthews mentions one dire drawback,—the troops of clamorous mendicants who assail the stranger.

† Riccardi in Woods, vol. ii. p. 102. Mr. Matthews also speaks of innumerable rainbows on the light foam.

may serve at least to induce some future travellers to visit the scene in its wintry dress.

'It is singular enough,' remarks Lord Byron, 'that two of the finest cascades in Europe should be artificial; this of the Velino, and the one at Tivoli.' The history of this channel is not a little curious. The Velino, which has its source in some mountains of cavernous limestone, instead of continually wearing for itself a deeper channel, fills up its bed with a calcareous deposite, which speedily hardens into rock. By this means, we find it, in early times, blocking up its own course, and subjecting the valley above to frequent inundations. In the year of Rome 481 (B. C. 271), a channel was cut by Marius Curius Dentatus (the conqueror of the Sabines), for the discharge of its waters into the Nar. In the year of Rome 700, some disputes arose between the inhabitants of Rieti, above the Falls, and those of Terni below, we know not on what precise grounds. * The channel, however, continued to perform its duty till about the year 1400; (that is, 1680 years from the date of its formation;) but at that time, it appears to have become so much choked up, that the superior valley was again subject to inundations. The Reatines began to open a new canal, but the inhabitants of Terni opposed it, and a war between the two cities was the consequence. Braccio di Montone, tyrant of Perugia, interfered, and a new channel was made, but apparently on a small scale, as it was soon filled up again; and in 1546, San-Gallo was appointed by Paul III.

* Cicero was applied to by the Reatines on this occasion. See his *Epist. ad Attic.*, vol. iv. p. 14.

to make a sufficient opening. Terni and the cities below the Falls, and even Rome, raised a great outcry against this undertaking, on the plea that it would subject their country to inundation; but the work proceeded. It was soon found, however, that the channel was not cut sufficiently deep; and in 1596, a new work was undertaken, under the direction of Giovanni Fontana. The engineer-architect contented himself with re-opening, for the greater part of the way, the old channel of M. C. Dentatus; but, where that made an obtuse angle towards the Fall, Fontana abandoned it, and continued his work in a straight line, so as to make the Velino join the Nar at right angles, at the foot of a rock called Pennarosa, in a part where its bed is very much confined. The consequence was, that the Nar, blocked up by the fragments of rock that the Velino brought down, was forced back, and occasioned inundations below. Fresh disputes arose, which were not settled till the year 1785, when a new cut brought off the waters of the Velino obliquely into the Nar, and all complaints ceased.*

The *Lacus Velinus*, now called the *Lago di Pie di Lugo*, through which this river flows, is not more than a mile and a half above the Falls.† The whole course of the Velino must be well worth exploring. The valley of Rieti, through which it descends from the Apennines, was regarded in ancient times as the Tempe of Italy. Rieti (*Reati*) situated in the heart of the Sabine country, retains, in the honours of an episcopal see and the head-

* Woods, vol. ii. pp. 99, 100.

† Roscoe's Tourist, vol. ii. p. 267.

town of a legation, some measure of its ancient importance, with a population of about 7000 persons. Independently of the historic interest of the country, full of the sites of towns founded by the aboriginal Umbrians, it invites, by its caverns, its mineral waters, and other geological phenomena, the attention of the naturalist. It is said to be indeed, if not very picturesque, a highly curious region.*

The route to Rome continues to run for the next eight miles over the beautiful and fertile vale of Terni; and then ascends the rocky heights on which the town of Narni is built, at the foot of which the Nera (*Nar*) rolls its turbid and impure waters through a deep and vast fissure in the limestone rock.† In this rock are caverns which are used as habitations. Narni, the birth-place of an emperor and a pope, (Nerva and John XVIII.,) has nothing but its antiquity and picturesque appearance to recommend it. It is badly built, with steep and narrow streets, and exhibits every mark of poverty and decay. A broken path leads down to the river, at the point at which, leaving the rich plains of Terni, it enters the deep, rocky ravine, which reminded Mr. Woods of Dovedale, but with more wood. Here, the celebrated bridge of Augustus still bestrides the stream with its colossal ruins, which seem almost to hang in air. It originally joined the lofty banks above the river;

* Aldus Minutius has devoted a treatise to this district alone: '*de Reatina Urbe Agroque.*'

† Virgil describes the sulphurous and calcareous waters of the Nar:

'*Sulfureâ Nar albus aquâ.*'—*Æn.* vii. 514.

and its centre arch is supposed to have been 83 feet in its span. That on the left side, the only one of the three which is entire, is above 60; and the piers are 28 feet in breadth. The bridge has been built of large blocks of white marble, neatly squared and fitted in, but, apparently, without cement or even cramps of iron to connect them. Had the foundations been firm, the solidity of the structure would probably have preserved it unimpaired to the present day. One of the piers has sunk perpendicularly, to which its destruction must be ascribed. A mass of ruin intervening between two of the piers, and having the effect at first of a pier, is supposed to be part of the support of a fortress erected on the bridge itself. Addison styles this bridge 'one of the stateliest ruins in Italy.' There are, indeed, few relics of antiquity that are adapted to impress the mind with a higher idea of the Roman magnificence; and it is rendered the more striking by the exquisite beauty of the rocky banks and richly varied scenery.

The road, after leaving Narni, winds for some time among woody hills, which are soon exchanged for banks of furze and broken ground, the country assuming an open, undulating character. Luxuriant olive-woods cover hill and dale; and this, with the exception of some defiles of grey gravelly soil, continues to be the general aspect of the country as far as Otricoli (*Ocriculum*), situated on a hill a few miles from the left bank of the Tiber. This is now a small and mean post-town; but near it are ruins of the Roman city, from which numerous remains of antiquity have been extracted.

A fine view is hence obtained of the yellow Tiber, winding in the bottom, and bordered by meadows; and in a few miles, the traveller crosses the river by the *Ponte Felice*, erected by Sixtus V., on the foundations of another magnificent structure ascribed to Augustus. Here, the Flaminian Way, leaving the province of Umbria, enters the Etrurian district of Viterbo; continuing along the wide vale of the Tiber to where the Gothic fortress and little village of Borghetto overlook, from a rocky cliff, the stream below. It then ascends a steep hill, and crossing a deep ravine by a stone bridge at least 120 feet high, enters the romantic town of Civita Castellana.

This antique town, now generally admitted to represent *Falerii*, the capital of the ancient *Falisci*, stands on a point of land between two deep ravines, and has a very picturesque appearance.* Mr. Williams speaks of the place in terms of rapture. 'The most romantic banks, rock, wood, and waterfalls, are crowned with buildings which would have charmed a Niccolo Poussin, or a Salvator. We have met with finer towns, but, certainly, with none so full of charms to a painter's eye. It has a greater air of antiquity than any town which we have yet visited.' There is a cathedral here, with a portico of small columns of granite and

* The strength of its situation gave rise to the conjecture, that this must be the position of the ancient *Veii*, which cost the Romans a ten years' siege; but the site of that city is now identified with *L' Isola Farnese*, about a mile and a half to the N. E. of the modern post-house of *La Storta*.—Cramer, vol. i. pp. 226, 236.

marble, and a mosaic frieze something in the style of *S. Lorenzo fuori delle mura* at Rome. The middle door-way is of the Lombard architecture. The interior has been modernized, and contains nothing remarkable. The fortress, built by the turbulent and warlike Julius II., is now used as a prison.* The view it commands, is very interesting. *Monte Soracte* appears to great advantage, while, close upon the town, the deep ravines wind and twist about in various directions, seeming like enormous fissures rent in the surface, rather than water-courses. The whole country is volcanic; the rocks are of tufo; and with this material, much of the fortress is constructed

Leaving the Flaminian Way, the road now runs over the plain, winding among fine groves of oak, to Nepi, a mean, dirty town, but beautifully situated on the edge of a deep ravine, and with high walls and mouldering towers which give an imposing appearance to the place. Great part of this town, with its cathedral, was burned by the French, and several houses remain in a ruined state. A noble Roman aqueduct, which still conveys water to the town, with other relics of ancient splendour, bears testimony to its former importance. Two posts further, the present road joins, near Monterosi, the Siena route; and from the top of *Monte Lungo*, the dome of St. Peter's

* When Mr. Pennington was there, two hundred criminals were confined in this fortress, who were chained two and two, when sent forth to work. This Traveller states, that the cathedral is modern, having been built in 1740; he must mean, repaired.

just appears,—a speck in the horizon, seen between two hills, which soon conceal it from view.

With intense anxiety the traveller now looks for the happier moment when the whole city shall disclose itself to his eager gaze; but the moment never arrives. The *Campagna di Roma* consists of a series of gentle undulations gradually declining to the Tiber; and as the road winds over the hilly downs, he looks in vain for any object that may announce his approach to the imperial city. No villages or hamlets, no palaces or country seats, no huts or even ruins present themselves. Here and there, a square brick Gothic tower meets the eye, or a ruined farm-house; and the ridges on the pasture-land shew that it has once been cultivated. A few bushes of alder, sloe, and crab-apple alone relieve the bareness of the unhealthy country. Between the sixth and seventh milestone,* the cupolas of the city may again be descried, with the Sabine hills in the distance; and about four miles from Rome, the country again improves in appearance, affording some fine views of the plain of the Tiber, with a fore-ground of rugged cork-trees and bushes of ilex, broken ground, and woody hollows. Scarcely any of the city is seen, however, till within a short distance; and then, with the exception of St. Peter's, there are few buildings of interest. On the right,

* Williams, vol. i. p. 282.—Miss Morton states, that from the red rocks behind the post-house at *La Storta*, (between nine and ten miles from Rome,) she 'beheld, in the dim distance, the imperial city and the bright line of the Ocean.'

Monte Mario (*Clivus Cinnæ*)* stretches forward its high, wooded platform; to the left, the plain is closed by the Tiburtine and Alban hills; while, in front, Rome itself, spreading from the Vatican to the pine-covered Pincian hill, is seen at intervals, so far apart as to seem more than a single city. About three miles from Rome, a large sarcophagus on a ruined base of masonry, misnamed the Tomb of Nero, notwithstanding the words P. VIBIUS MARIANUS cut upon the stone, may prepare the traveller for the misnomers in the city itself. Still, all is silent and desolate. At length, the traveller reaches the *Ponte Molle*, a modern bridge of four arches, on ancient foundations,† where the Tiber rolls its deep and tawny waters in a stream about 400 feet in width, its deserted banks, in this part of its course, unshaded by wood, and ungraced by civilization.‡ Here, the road again falls in with the old Flaminian Way, and the suburbs may be said to commence. A fine road, with a wide pavement,

* Called by Dante, *Monte-malo*. Its modern name is said to be derived from Mario Millini, who had an estate there in the reign of Sixtus IV.

† The ancient *Pons Milvius* or *Pons Æmilius*, over which the tyrant Maxentius was precipitated into the Tiber, after the defeat of his troops by Constantine. Of the Roman bridge, originally built by M. Æmilius Scaurus, and repaired by Augustus, scarcely any thing but the foundations remains.

‡ Mr. Hobhouse, indignant at the descriptions originating in 'the disappointment of over-heated expectations,' which reduce the Tiber to a muddy, insignificant stream, extravagantly pronounces it 'one of the finest rivers in Europe.'

leads in a straight line between the high walls of vineyards and orchards, broken occasionally by neat summer-houses or arched gateways on either hand, the gate of the city appearing at the end of the long vista. The walls, though not of high antiquity, have a venerable and imposing appearance; and the *Porta del Popolo*, if not worthy of Rome and of Michael Angelo, may satisfy those who are not fastidious. It is the substitute for the old Flaminian gate, which stood a little to the east. But no matter to the traveller where it stood. He enters the Piazza, and finds himself in Rome.

He who would have his classical enthusiasm excited and gratified by a first view of Rome, must enter the city in an opposite direction. The Campagna, on approaching the city from Naples, presents a scene of more extensive desolation than even on the Florence side, heightened by the scattered memorials of decayed grandeur. For several miles, the road is strewed with ruins; some presenting considerable fragments, others discernible only by the inequalities in the surface; while the long lines of the aqueducts, rising above the other ruins, and stretching out in various directions, carry back the mind to the days of the Republic. The whole scenery is in perfect unison with the pensive reflections inspired by the recollections of the historic past. From the Apennines to the sea, the eye ranges over a melancholy waste. From this approach, too, the whole city comes into view. Its domes and cupolas appear more numerous than when seen from any other quarter, and some of the ancient edifices form part

of the picture. After entering the walls, the traveller passes the Coliseum, and catches a view of the Forum, the Capitol, and other objects and sites consecrated and familiarized to the imagination by the classic page. Such is the entrance to Rome from the side of Naples; 'the sublimity of which,' Dr. Burton says, 'exceeds any thing that Italy can produce, and of which no description can be exaggerated.'

CHAPTER III.

ROME.

'The Goth, the Christian, Time, War, Flood, and Fire,
Have dealt upon the Seven-hilled City's pride.'

BYRON.

View of Rome from the Capitol—Changes in the site of the City—Origin of Rome—Ancient Boundaries and Divisions—Early Antiquities—Causes of the Destruction of the ancient City—State of Rome in the middle Ages—Rise of the modern City—Progress of Dilapidation—Present Aspect of the Ruins—Climate and characteristic features of Rome.

THE *Piazza del Popolo*, being the first part of Rome actually seen by most travellers, who generally arrive by the Florence road, attracts more attention than it would otherwise command. In the centre of an irregular, open area, rises, between two fountains, an Egyptian obelisk of granite, 82 feet in height, the only object that recalls antiquity. Three streets branch off from the Piazza. The middle one, which runs in the same direction as the *Via Lata*, is the *Corso*, the high street of modern Rome, but too narrow to produce any effect. On each side of its entrance, stand the twin churches of *Sta. Maria di Monte Santo* and *Sta. Maria dei Miracoli*, built in 1662; about which time the Piazza was cleared of many of its former incum-

brances, in honour of the entrance of Christina, Queen of Sweden. The street on the right, the *Ripetta*, leads to the banks of the Tiber; that on the left, to the *Piazza di Spagna*, the quarter of the hotels, below the Pincian hill. This entrance to the city is altogether not unworthy of a great capital; yet, having nothing in it peculiarly characteristic of Rome, it produces a vague feeling of disappointment. Modern Rome, indeed, is not so different from other towns, as those who see it for the first time, somewhat unreasonably anticipate; and if, not having secured a *lascia-passare*, the traveller should be compelled to proceed to the custom-house, the first mouldering remnant of antiquity that will meet his eyes, will, perhaps, excite his disgust, by shewing the little veneration paid by the modern inhabitants to the monuments of their ancestors. A magnificent portico of eleven fluted Corinthian columns of marble, once the temple of Marcus Antoninus, has been filled up with a building of plaster, and converted into a *dogana*. 'Ancient and modern Rome,' remarks Mr. Hobhouse, 'are linked together like the dead and living criminals of Mezentius.' The present town may be easily forgotten amid the wrecks of the ancient metropolis; and a spectator on the tower of the Capitol, may turn from the carnival throngs of the *Corso* to the contiguous fragments of the old city, and not behold a single human being.' But some of the most interesting objects are blended with modern buildings; and not a few are almost inaccessible from the *'immondezza* which surrounds them. 'Whichever road you take,' says Forsyth, 'your attention will be divided be-

tween magnificence and filth.' Rome is no place for the pedestrian; and yet, by the pedestrian only can its wonders be explored.

Mr. Hobhouse recommends the stranger to ascend at once, on his arrival, by the new road winding up the Pincian Mount; whence he may enjoy a view over the modern city, 'which, whatever be the faults of its architectural details, is, when seen in the mass, incomparably the handsomest in the world.' In order, however, to form a distinct idea of the topography of the seven-hilled city, he should ascend the tower of the Senatorial palace on the *Campidoglio*. Here, upon the site of the citadel of Romulus, he will seem to stand between the living and the dead, as, on the one hand, his eye explores the deserted heights once covered with the ancient city, and, on the other hand, rests upon the low and level plain,

> ——— 'where Modern Rome
> Couches beneath the ruins.' (DYER.)

Immediately below him, buried beneath many feet of rubbish, is the site of the Forum, the heart of Rome; and directly opposite, on its further side, is seen the Palatine Mount, covered with ruins, vineyards, and gardens. In the same direction, looking up what was once the *Via Sacra*, the Arch of Titus may be seen, with that of Constantine behind it; while to the left rise the gigantic ruins of the Coliseum, in the basin formed by the Palatine, the Cœlian, and the Esquiline hills. The Lateran palace and *Basilica* may be seen rising above, and near it, some remains of a branch of the Claudian aqueduct, marking the long extent of the Cœlian mount, the most southern of the

Seven Hills. In the distance appears the town of Palestrina, at the foot of the range of hills that bound the Campagna on the south, terminating in the Alban mount. To the west of the Cœlian hill is the Aventine, the north-western base of which is washed by the Tiber. To the east of the Cœlian extends the undefined form of the Esquiline, its nearer summit crowned with the *Basilica* of *Sta. Maria Maggiore.* The Viminal hill, between the Esquiline and the Quirinal, it is not very easy to distinguish; and as a hill, its very existence has become problematical.* The ruins of Diocletian's Baths cover part of it, extending northward to the Quirinal. This is the only one of the Seven Hills that is populous: it is covered with noble edifices, and the Papal palace forms a marking feature on its summit, combining with Soracte and the snowy Apennines in the distance. To the northward of the Quirinal, is seen the Pincian Mount, the Garden-hill (*Collis Hortulorum*) of classic times, but which, not having been included within the walls of Servius Tullus, is not reckoned among the Seven. Turning to the west, the Janiculine hill is seen, on the other side of the Tiber, whose yellow, muddy waters correspond in tone and colour to the dusky ruins that nod upon its shores. Lastly,

* 'On each hill, except the Viminal, the most difficult of all, you will find one master object.'—Forsyth. 'The Palatine, the Aventine, the Capitol, and even the Cœlian, are legitimate, if not lofty mounts; but the Esquiline and the Quirinal, though they certainly boast a considerable rise on the side of Rome, have no fall on the opposite side. As for the Viminal Hill, I have never yet been able to find it at all, though I have made a most diligent search after it.'—Rome in the Nineteenth Century, vol. i. p. 201.

turning from ancient Rome, the eye rests upon the noble cupola of St. Peter's, the Vatican palace, and the Mausoleum of Hadrian, transformed into a fortress.

Besides these legitimate hills, an elevation may be observed behind the *Piazza Colonna*, called *Monte Citorio*, which is supposed to be formed entirely of mounds of rubbish from the ancient ruins. *Monte Giordano* is another small eminence of the same kind. *Monte Testaccio*, near the Tiber, at the south-western corner of the city, is believed to be entirely composed of fragments of pottery deposited there in remote times.

The most populous part of ancient Rome 'is now but a landscape.' Mount Palatine, says Mr. Forsyth, 'which originally contained all the Romans, and was afterwards insufficient to accommodate one tyrant, is inhabited only by a few friars. I have gone over the whole hill, and not seen six human beings on a surface which was once crowded with the assembled orders of Rome and Italy. Raffael's villa, the Farnesian summer-house, Michael Angelo's aviaries, are all falling into the same desolation as the Imperial palace which fringes the Mount with its broken arches.' The Esquiline, the Cœlian, and the Aventine, are for the most part covered with gardens. The latter two, indeed, seem to belong to a country deserted by its inhabitants, rather than to form part of the area enclosed within the walls of a populous city. There is reason to believe that the Aventine was never much built upon. The Capitoline, the Viminal, and the Quirinal are partially occupied

with buildings; but the most populous quarter of the modern city is situated in what was once the open plain of the *Campus Martius.* Modern Rome can scarcely, therefore, be said to rest upon that seven-hilled base which the poets of other days were so fond of celebrating; and scarcely two-thirds of the space within the present walls, a circuit of thirteen or fourteen miles, are now inhabited.*

Besides this difference of position between the ancient and the modern city, a remarkable change has taken place in the level of the ground, which, in the valleys, has been raised not less than 14 or 15 feet. In some parts of the Forum, this is very strikingly evident. The ground has there been raised to a great height above the ancient level, partly by the soil and rubbish brought down by the rains, but chiefly, there is reason to believe, by the demolition of ancient buildings by conflagrations, earthquakes, and hostile violence, together with the practice of raising the new structures upon the prostrate mass. The ravages of the Tiber in ancient times, when swelled by sudden or long-continued rains, have also materially contributed to produce an alteration in the level. It was doubtless for the sake of security against these destructive floods, that the founders of the city fixed it on the hills.† So late as towards the

* 'Not half the space within its walls (about 3400 acres) is safe from the *malaria* in summer.'—Simond, p. 352.

† In remote times, the course of the Tiber is believed to have been between the Capitoline and Palatine hills.—See Ovid *Fast.* lib. ii.

end of the sixteenth century, three mischievous and memorable inundations are on record.* That the modern city is less accessible to the attacks of the river, is owing, apparently, to nothing but the gradual rise in the level of the plain. The floods are still, however, a source of unhealthiness to those parts of the city to which they extend. After the waters have retired, the cellars and ground-floors of the houses are covered with the slime of the Tiber, and the walls are imbued with the moisture. The portico of the Pantheon, in the *Campo Marzo*, was formerly ascended by seven steps, only two of which now remain above the surface; a trifling rise when compared with the accumulation of the soil in the Forum and other parts of the ancient city, but remarkable as being almost entirely the gradual work of time and nature, and not attributable to the ravages of invaders. The wells of Rome rise and fall with the waters of the Tiber, with which, therefore, they would seem to communicate.

Rome is the hereditary name of a dynasty of cities. Though frequently overthrown, its site has never been entirely deserted; so that, as Dr. Burton expresses it, 'it stands as a link in the chain which connects ancient and modern history; and in this

* In 1530, 1557, and 1598. Muratori in Gibbon, c. 71. A considerable inundation took place in December 1702; after which Lancisi, physician to Clement XI., obtained an order from the Pope to have the slime removed from the cellars and floors that had been laid under water, in consequence of which intermittent fevers became less frequent for some years than they had been before.—Cadell, vol. i. p. 548.

part, the continuity has never been broken.' But it is the continuity of succession. 'There are, in fact,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'three ancient Romes substantially distinct; the city which the Gauls destroyed, that which Nero burned, and that which he and his successors rebuilt.' In other words, there is the Rome of romance, the classic Rome of Augustus, and the restored Rome of Nero and Aurelian. There may be said to be also three modern Romes,—that of the middle ages, that of Leo. X., and that of the nineteenth century. A slight review of the principal revolutions of which its site has been the theatre, forms an almost indispensable introduction to any attempt at topographical description.

'The foundation of Rome, and to what people the Eternal City originally belonged, are precisely the matters of which we know nothing.' Such is the peremptory decision of the sceptical, the incredulous Niebuhr. Yet, the foundation of Rome has served as one of the most important eras in history. The earliest calculation assigns to it a date almost a century previous to the Olympiads; but the received chronology fixes it in the first year of the 7th Olympiad, or 432 years after the fall of Troy (B.C. 753).

'Everything at Rome indicates an Etruscan origin. The whole of the original constitution was Etruscan, established by the sacred books of that nation. The whole religious system was Etruscan. . . . But, about the time which is stated as the foundation of Rome, the Sabines were in progressive movement along the river. The city of Tatius was a Sabine settlement on the Capito-

line and Quirinal hills, close upon Etruscan Rome. Rome was thus a double city, like the Greek and Spanish *Emporiæ*, and some cities of modern Europe. But, before the time of Tullus, this twofold State had already become a single republic. All this is antecedent to history: it is not Latin; it is older than the Latin character of Rome. The latter was derived first from Tullus, through the union with Alba in his reign, and through the forcible incorporation of so many Latins under his successors, so that the earlier inhabitants were absolutely blended with them into Latins. Their language became perfectly unintelligible to later ages (like the songs of the *Salii* and the *Arvales*); and this accounts for the destruction of all historical notices of those times.'*

Such is Niebuhr's hypothesis (for it is nothing more) respecting the origin of this city. 'According to Antiochus of Syracuse,' remarks Mr. Cramer, 'the name of Rome was known as far back as the time of the *Siculi*, the first possessors of Latium. That Saturnia was a name once given to Rome, or, at least, to one of the seven hills, and probably to the Capitol, seems very generally admitted by ancient writers.' And this name, the learned Author supposes, must be referred to the *Siculi*. Again, 'the settlement of Evander and his Arcadians on the Palatine hill, appears likewise to be supported by the concurrent testimony of ancient writers.' This Evander, we are to consider 'as one of those numerous Pelasgic adventurers who, after the settlement of the *Tyrrheni* and

* Niebuhr's Rom. Hist. by Walters, vol. i. p. 195.

the expulsion of the *Siculi*, migrated from Greece into Italy. The arrival of Evander in Latium is an interesting fact in the history of that country, as he is said to have introduced a knowledge of letters and other arts with which the Latins were then unacquainted.'*

But who were these nations—the Pelasgians, the Sicilians, the Tyrrhenians, the Etrurians, the Sabines, the Latins? The vague and conflicting authorities of ancient writers, the philosophical researches and learned hypotheses of modern antiquaries, serve but to shew how arbitrary is the meaning attached to such designations. If, however, turning from the bewildering discussions respecting the nomenclature, filiation, and distribution of these various tribes, we confine ourselves to a general view of the state of society at this early period, we shall find sufficient evidence that Italy, like other countries of a similar geographical character, was originally occupied by races distinguished less by their physical lineaments, than by their modes of life and the degree of civilization to which, as the result, they had severally attained. In all countries which admit of the breeding of domestic animals, the pastoral is the first stage of social life; and by the wants and circumstances attendant upon that mode of life, the rude institutions of the infancy of nations are created and moulded. The mountains and high table-lands, in temperate or warmer regions, are the chosen territory of those tribes whose property consists chiefly in their flocks; while the owners of herds

* Cramer, vol. i. pp. 351, 2.

must descend with the rivers to the plains. The shepherd is of necessity a wanderer; and the first migrations, probably, were those of pastoral tribes, who sought room for their multiplied flocks. Wherever the wild animals abound, he is also of necessity a hunter; and the transition is easy, from the habits and character thus induced, to those of the bandit and of the warrior. Thus, the pastoral and the military character, which seem at first view so opposite to each other, are, in reality, nearly allied; and the metamorphosis is explained, by which the shepherd becomes a king.* The herdsman of the plains is naturally, perhaps, less roving in his habits, and more pacific.† He is soon compelled to unite to his other cares the labours of tillage. With agriculture originates fixed property, and towns are formed for mutual defence. This is the second stage of civilization.

The physical features and climates of the country must, of course, powerfully contribute to determine the shape which society shall in these rude stages assume. In a region where the maritime plains are liable, in summer, to intolerable heat, or to pestilential exhalations from the undrained levels, the first permanent settlements will

* Gibbon has remarked, that the pastoral manners which have been 'adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of military life.' c. 26.

† The exception is, when boundless plains, under a temperate climate, admit of the breeding of the horse, and an equestrian nation is formed, the future conquerors of the agricultural tribes,—the hunters, first of beasts, and at length of men.

be in the mountains; and on shores subject to the predatory visits of corsairs, we shall find the towns placed, by way of precaution, at some distance from the coast. The climate and the soil will also regulate the nature of the habitations, in the construction of which the arts will first be developed; according as a defence is required chiefly against the violence of summer's rains or winter's cold, and as the forest, the rock, or the skin and hair of the herds, affords the readiest and most effectual protection. The dwellings of nomade hordes will be either the cavern or the portable hut or tent. The hunter slings his hammock in his pine-cabin, or piles up a hearth of stones with the wreck of the mountain. The inhabitant of the bare, clayey plains becomes a potter and a builder.

In the mean time, the seas will have bred up a race of bold adventurers, traders or pirates; and maritime settlers of a foreign nation are led, by chance, necessity, or a spirit of adventure, to take possession of the harbours, and to spread themselves up the line of the rivers. Accustomed, perhaps, to the suns of more southerly climes, they are better able to sustain the summer heat of the low plains; and by means of traffic, they contrive to provide themselves with the necessaries of life. This presents to us another stage of society, and one which has always been the most closely connected with the advancement of knowledge and the development of useful invention.

Such has been the history of Italy. The aboriginal inhabitants of her mountains, whether Celts, Rhætians, Illyrians, or Goths, must have entered the Peninsula from the north; nor is there room

to doubt that the bulk of the population reached Italy by land. But even before they had sufficiently multiplied to gain possession of the whole region, the East was beginning to discharge her adventurers and fugitives upon Western Europe. The Phœnicians are known to have navigated every part of the Mediterranean in the most remote ages. Minos, king of Crete, had a powerful navy for that age, and made expeditions into Sicily and Italy. The Phæacians also had acquired a considerable degree of celebrity as a maritime people; and the *Tyrrheni* are spoken of as notorious corsairs in fabulous times.* Long before the siege of Troy, the shores of the Adriatic had received a Tyrrhenian colony, whence they appear to have spread from Umbria into Etruria.† It is in Etruria, Mr. Cramer remarks, that we can best trace the influence of the Tyrrhenian colony, in changing the habits and improving the condition of its natives. Rome is first mentioned by the Greeks as a Tyrrhenian city; and it appears certain, that she was indebted to Etruria for her earliest religious and political institutions, and for her civil and military economy.‡

The Tyrrhenians were clearly a maritime and commercial people. The Mœonians are represented by Ovid as of the same race, and the *Siculi* were probably the same people. That they appeared as strangers in Italy, is evident; and the most probable opinion is that which is mentioned by Herodotus, and to which Niebuhr himself in-

* Cramer, vol. i. pp. 152, 157. Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 86.
† Cramer, vol i. p. 166. ‡ *Ib.* p. 169.

clines, that they were of Lydian origin; and as such, we must consider them as related to the Phœnician or Syrian family.* Their name, whatever be its derivation, has no reference to Italy: they appear in history as a people known to the Greeks under that specific appellation, though frequently designated also by the generic and equivocal name of *Pelasgi*. Etruria may have taken its name from Tyrrhenian settlers; but there is strong reason to conclude with Niebuhr, that the Tuscans, from whom it derives its modern name, and who are evidently the same as the Etruscans of antiquity, were a totally different people; not maritime or commercial, not foreigners, but an Alpine nation. Niebuhr supposes Rhætia to be the original father-land of this powerful people.† They

* Taylor's Herodotus, p. 45. Cramer, vol. i. pp. 147, 153. Müller, with the Abbé Sevin, deduces their name from a place called Τυῤῥα, on the coast of Mœonia or Lydia. Herodotus, after the Lydian authorities, makes Tyrrhenus to have been a son of Atys, King of Lydia. See also Niebuhr, vol. i. pp. 92—97; and an interesting article on Professor Müller's *Die Etrusker*, in Edinb. Rev. No. C., p. 380.

† 'The language of the inhabitants of Gröden in the Tyrol, though mixed, yet strikingly peculiar in its roots, may be regarded as a remnant of the Tuscan. The Brenner formed the northern boundary of the *Rhætii*, and therefore of the Etruscan race.'—Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 72. Livy represents the *Rhæti* as a remnant of the ancient Tuscans.—See Cramer, vol. i. p. 72 Adelung supposes the Etruscans to have migrated from Rhætia, founding his opinion on the resemblance of some names of places in the Tyrol and in Tuscany, and on the works of Tuscan art found in the Tyrol. Such is the opinion also of Freret.—See Cadell, vol. i. p. 174.

appear never to have occupied the whole of Cisalpine Gaul, their possessions extending westward only as far as the Ticinus, where their neighbours were the Celtic Ligurians. He supposes also, that the Tyrrhenians of Etruria adopted the language of their Tuscan masters,* as the Christians of Asia Minor have adopted that of their Turkish lords. The civilization of the Etruscans, on the other hand, was derived from the foreign colonists; and the coincidences between the Etruscan and the Lydian customs, which cannot have been accidental, are explained by their having been introduced by the Tyrrhenians; as the Ottomans have borrowed many of their customs from the Greeks, while retaining their own language.

Long before the arrival of the Tyrrhenian colonists, Umbria had been peopled by the nation from whom it derived its name, and who are repre-

* Niebuhr thinks, that 'the roughness of the Etruscan language, which seems to have been preserved in the Florentine pronunciation, might be adduced as a proof that this people came originally from lofty, mountainous districts. A people also, in whose language consonants were not the leading sounds, would scarcely have *imitated* the Easterns in neglecting short vowels in their writing.'—Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 75. This last remark is unworthy of the learned Writer's acuteness. Between neglecting the short vowels in the written character, and a rough guttural articulation, there is no sort of connexion. But the Asiatic character of the Etruscan writing is important, as favouring the supposition that the Tyrrhenian civilization was of *Semitic* origin.—See Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 91. The resemblance between the Etruscan and the Lydian music, it has been remarked, adds considerable weight to the other arguments in favour of the Oriental colonization of Etruria. The Tuscan flute was unknown to the early Greeks.

sented by the Latin writers as the most ancient people of Italy. To them, Mr. Cramer thinks, we may safely ascribe the population of the central and mountainous parts of that country, as also the primitive form of its language. Niebuhr supposes them to have been a powerful people anterior to the arrival of either the Etruscans or the Gauls in Italy. Some of the Roman writers have represented them to have been of the same race as the latter people; and the Celtic origin of the *Umbri*, has served as a foundation for the hypotheses of Freret and Bardetti. The notion of any affinity, however, either in language or customs, between the *Umbri* and the Celtic Gauls who peopled France, and afterwards invaded Italy, can neither be borne out by facts, nor supported by any collateral proof.* There is strong reason to believe, on the other hand, that the Umbrians were the progenitors of the Latins; and that if their language was not the parent of the Latin, it had a common basis, which was related to the Tuscan. Mr. Galiffe has propounded a very startling hypothesis; namely, that the founders of Rome, whoever they might be, spoke the Russian language, which he supposes to be the parent of the other Slavonian dialects. The singular coincidence between the Russian and the Latin, in respect to their want of articles, is adduced in confirmation of this opinion; and a still more plausible argument is deduced from the clear etymology of many Latin words, which the Russian language seems to supply.†

* Cramer, vol. i. p. 253. See also Miller's *Die Etrusker*, vol. i. p. 64.

† Galiffe, vol. i. pp. 365—381.—Some of these instances

He supposes these Slavonian founders of Rome, however, to have been foreigners, who spoke a language not understood by the natives; and that the Roman Latin was produced by the mixture of their dialect with that of the Sabines, or other *aborigines*. The Umbrian language, as found on a part of the Uguvinian Tables, contains a number of Latin words, or of words apparently related to the Latin, but is itself unintelligible; and Livy states, that the Romans found it necessary, in the fifth century of their era, in order to negotiate with the *Umbri*, to use an ambassador skilled in the Tuscan language.* Mr. Cramer is disposed to regard the Umbrians as the progenitors alike of the Etruscans, the Sabines, and the Latins; and concludes, that the Oscans were the same race.†

are not a little remarkable. *Senator*, Mr. G. would derive, not from *senex*, but from *znaten*, noble. *Populus* from *po-polu*, about the plain; *Plebs*, from *pleva*, scum; *Rhamnenses*, from *Hramnoy*, belonging to the temples; *Luceri* (another Roman tribe), from *luc*, a bow, q. d., archers; *fasces*, from *svaski*, bundles; *Romulus*, from *Hroma-losk*, light of thunder; *Ceres*, from *Zreya*, who ripens; *Tarpeius* from *Terpeyou*, I suffer. Others may seem somewhat forced or far fetched.

* Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 101. 'If any dependence is to be placed on the researches of Lanzi,' remarks Mr. Cramer, 'the basis of the Umbrian, as well as of the Latin dialect, is Greek, which is certainly of *Slavonic* (if I may so term it), rather than of Celtic origin.'—Cramer, vol. i. p. 253. The *Veneti* would seem to have been at all events a Slavonian race.—See pp. 154, 229 of our second volume.

† 'The analogy which subsists between the forms *Tusci*, *Osci* (or *Opici*), and *Volci*, would furnish a presumption in favour of the indigenous origin of the former; but that point seems abundantly established by the fundamental similarity of language which has been discovered to exist

If so, the mixture of the Tuscan in the Latin language, to which the ancient grammarians bear testimony, may have been derived from the Sabine or other Umbrian tribes; while the exotic characteristics, which seem related to a Slavonic or Illyrian basis, may have originated with the intrusive race, the Normans of their age.

The early civilization of Italy, it is, at all events, tolerably certain, was primarily Tyrrhenian, or what is improperly termed Etruscan; that is, of foreign origin, and closely related to that of the oldest maritime people of whom we have any historic records.* Between this primary civilization,

between the Etruscan and the other dialects of Italy.'—Cramer, vol. i. p. 162. See also *Ib.*, pp. 252, 298, 315, 322. 'That the Sabines spoke the Oscan language, has been abundantly proved;' and that the dialects of the *Umbri* and the *Osci* were closely related, there is every reason to believe.

* Mr. Cramer endeavours to establish the identity of the Tyrrhenians and the *Pelasgi* (vol. i. pp. 158—167). That they were 'at least connected, if not a race of the same people,' Bishop Marsh thinks, can hardly be doubted, though Pliny speaks of them as a distinct people. In Thucydides, a higher authority, they are mentioned as belonging to the same race. (*lib.* iv. c. 109.) See Marsh's *Horæ Pelasg.*, pp. 47, 48. Niebuhr says: 'We must rest satisfied with the impossibility of determining with certainty what nation the *Pelasgi* were. Every notice of this people, in the brightest as well as the darkest periods of history, remains to us an enigma, the satisfactory solution of which will be the most absolutely despaired of by him who has most studiously laboured at its investigation.' Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 36. He considers it, however, as proved, that they differed from the Greeks in language; but thinks that many Pelasgian nations became transformed into Grecian. This appears to be the nearest approach to a solution; for, in fact, different nations seem to have been confounded under the generic appellation of Pelasgic; which, whether derived

and that which was at a later period introduced by the Greeks, ages were, perhaps, interposed; and the lines of distinction appear to be sufficiently marked and palpable. The Romans, whoever they were, were an illiterate and imitative people, who borrowed everything but their martial spirit from the nations they subdued, and were indebted successively to the Etruscans and the Greeks for their arts, religion, and polity.*

The city of Romulus is stated to have occupied at first only the Palatine mount, the square area of which would not, Mr. Simond says, 'quite cover the garden of the Tuileries at Paris, or St. James's Park in London; and its elevation, only 198 feet above the sea, is not twice the height of the largest trees in either of those gardens.'† Yet, its compact and detached form, defended by the Tiber and the marshes, might recommend it as an eligible

from a King Pelasgus, (the Phaleg of Scripture,) or from the sea, the great *divider*, appears to have always denoted the ascendant *maritime* nation, and consequently the parent of civilization, Phœnician, Tyrrhenian, or Hellenic.

* 'Towards the middle of the fifth century, the young Romans of rank were instructed in the Tuscan language and literature, as, at a later period, in the Grecian. (Liv. ix. c. 36.) This veneration, not long after, was changed into a contempt for what belonged to their ancestors.'—Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 97. It is important to bear in mind the double character of the Etrurian civilization,—the first Oriental, the second Hellenic. 'It is useless to attempt denying,' remarks the same learned Writer, 'that however peculiar may have been the Etruscan science of architecture, all their improvements in statuary were communicated by the Greeks.'—*Ib.* p. 88.

† Simond, p. 181.—'The height is, indeed, increased by

post; and its height would be sufficient, according to the modes of ancient warfare, to render it a place of strength.* Its unhealthy situation, however, and the deficiency of wholesome water, would sufficiently account for its not having been pre-occupied by the natives. The earlier inhabitants of Italy, the founders of those towns to which Rome herself conceded a prior antiquity, were all built on mountains, in a purer air, and in situations protected as well by nature as by the Cyclopean walls with which they were surrounded. To maritime settlers, on the other hand, its distance from the sea would have rendered it ineligible. Strabo remarks, that the situation of Rome was originally fixed upon by necessity, and not by choice, and that no one, judging from its situation, would have predicted its future prosperity.† Cicero, in the newly discovered fragments of the *De Republica*, speaks of the happy choice which Romulus made of a site for his city, in language which implies the

full 15 feet of rubbish accumulated upon it; but, as a similar accumulation exists round its base, the apparent height remains nearly what it was in ancient times.' The height of the Palatine hill above the Tiber is only 133 feet; that of the Tiber above the sea, according to different authorities, 25 or 33 feet.—Cadell, vol. ii. p. 256.

* The original name given to the site by the Latins, is said to have been *Valentia*, which was changed, or rather translated by Evander, into *Roma* (Ρωμη), a word of the same import; that is, strength.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 353. The latter appellation is, perhaps, the same as the Hebrew *Rama*, רמה, a height or fortified place; and would seem to have originated with Asiatic colonists, which Evander and his Pelasgic adventurers probably were.

† Cited in Cadell, vol. i. p. 541.

insalubrity of the region.* And Livy makes Camillus enumerate the advantages of the situation, in terms which confirm the idea, that it was chosen by necessity, and that those advantages were equivocal: he speaks of 'the healthiness of the *hills*, the convenience of the river for bringing provision from the inland regions, and also from the sea; the sea not too distant, and not so near as to expose the city to the attacks of corsairs; and the situation of the city in the middle of Italy.'†

The actual position of Rome is on some low hills and a marshy bottom, in the middle of a pestilential plain, and on the banks of the impure and scarcely navigable Tiber, about 14 miles from its mouth.‡ It stands in lat. 41° 54′ N., long. 12° 15′ E. The only good water is brought from a distance by aqueducts; and the city is scarcely less dependent than Venice, upon distant supplies. It has no longer a port. Ostia is now distant from the coast,—a place of banishment for criminals; and *Porto Trajano* is an inland lake, separated from the sea by a sandy plain three quarters of a mile in breadth.

* '*Locum delegit in regione pestilenti salubrem.*'—Cited by Simond, p. 352.

† Cadell, vol. i. p. 541.

‡ Floats of wood are sent down the Tiber from Perugia, though it is not navigable for even boats as high as that city, on account of several rapids. Vessels are three days in ascending the Tiber to Rome, being towed up by buffaloes at a very slow pace. Genoese *feluccas* come up in this way, laden with corn, and return with cargoes of rags, used as manure for orange-trees, and *pozzolana*, which constitute the principal exports from Rome besides indulgencies, &c.—Simond, p. 337.

Every thing connected with the early history of the city, is involved in uncertainty. If we may believe Tacitus, the Capitol was taken into the city by Tatius, the Sabine; and according to Dionysius, the Cœlian and Quirinal hills were added at the same time; but it was not till the reign of Servius Tullius, that the seven hills were included within the walls, as well as part of the Janiculine mount on the right bank of the Tiber. As several remains of the walls ascribed to this period, are yet visible, antiquaries have been able to fix their circuit with tolerable precision. Beginning at *Ponte Rotto* (*Pons Palatinus*), they advanced to the *Porta Carmentalis*, at the foot of the Tarpeian Rock, towards the Tiber; thence, they followed the heights of the Capitol as far as the church of *Ara-celi*, and then descended into the hollow between the Campidoglio and the Quirinal, excluding the ground subsequently occupied by the Forum of Trajan. Ascending the Quirinal, the walls followed the sinuosities of that hill, in a north-easterly direction, to a point from which a sort of terrace or mound may be observed, running southward to the Esquiline mount. This is supposed to be the famous *agger* or rampart of Servius Tullius, (completed by Tarquin, his successor,) which, according to Dionysius, was rather less than a mile in length, and about 50 feet in breadth. From the Arch of Gallienus, the walls can be traced to the *Porta S. Lorenzo;* and thence, by the *Porta Maggiore* and the Church of *Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme*, to the *Porta di S. Giovanni in Laterano.* Then, running along the heights of the Cœlian hill to the *Porta Capena*,

they ascended Mount Aventine, and following its direction, terminated near the church of *Sta. Maria Aventina*, close to the Tiber and the *Pons Sublicius*, which they took in. On the other side of the Tiber, the walls of Ancus Martius encompassed that portion of the city which is now called *Trastevere*, up to the summit of the *Janiculum*; the line of enclosure being pretty much the same as that of the walls now existing.

Such was the extent of Rome under Servius, who may justly be regarded as the real founder of the city; and these limits were preserved with little alteration till the time of Aurelian, although, without the walls, there grew up extensive suburbs. The whole circuit was nearly equal to that of the walls of Athens, and must therefore have been between seven and eight miles. Aurelian is supposed to have first enclosed the Campus Martius and the Pincian hill; he likewise enlarged the circuit of the walls of Rome both eastward and southward; and on the western side of the river, he enclosed somewhat more of the Janiculine mount. By these additions, the circumference of Rome in the time of Aurelian, is represented by one ancient writer to have been increased to 21 miles. But this statement is generally supposed to be exaggerated; and the best judges agree in the opinion, that the line of the present walls corresponds very nearly to that which was traced by Aurelian, although little of that Emperor's work is now standing.*

* Cramer, vol. i. pp. 357—361. The learned Writer has followed Nibby, the able Editor of Nardini's *Roma Antica*. See also Burton's Rome, vol. i. pp. 75—85. Hobhouse,

Rome under Servius, according to Varro, was divided into four regions or quarters: the *Palatina;* the *Esquilina;* the *Suburana* (comprising chiefly the Cœlian Mount); and the *Collina* (which included both the Quirinal and the Viminal). This division is thought to have been in use till the reign of Augustus, who first divided the city into fourteen regions, which were subdivided by Vespasian into 265 *compita* or wards. These regions were named and situated as follows:*

Regio 1ma. *Porta Capena.* Entirely without the walls of Servius. The gate from which it took its name, stood close to the church of *S. Nereo* and the Villa Mattei.

2da. *Cœlimontana.* Chiefly on the Cœlian hill, within the walls of Servius, and including part of the *Suburra.*†

3a. *Isis et Serapis.* Comprising the southern declivity of the Esquiline, and the space between it and the Cœlian, including the site of the Coliseum.

4ta. *Templum Pacis.* Extending between the Esquiline and the Palatine, and from near the Coliseum to the Forum and the Quirinal; it included the *Via Sacra.*

pp. 179—181. Some accounts state the present circumference at 16 miles, but it has been ascertained to be under 13 miles.

* This enumeration is extracted from Mr. Cramer's abridged account of the regions, after the learned Nardini and his accomplished Editor, Antonio Nibby.

† The *Suburra*, the name given to the valley between the Cœlian and Esquiline hills, was one of the most populous and busy parts of ancient Rome, and one of the least reputable.

5ta. *Esquilina.* Including a small part of that hill, the whole of the Viminal, and extending beyond the rampart of Servius to the wall of Aurelian.

6ta. *Alta Semita.* The whole of the Quirinal, a great portion of the Pincian, and part of the ground at their base.

7ma. *Via Lata.* Extending from the base of the Pincian hill, round that of the Quirinal, to the angle which that hill forms with the Capitol. The *Via Lata*, from which this region was named, was a prolongation of the *Via Flaminia*, and led to the Capitol.

8va. *Forum Romanum.* Comprising the Forum and the Capitol.

9na. *Circus Flaminius.* Almost entirely without the walls of Servius, having the Tiber W. and N., the Capitol on the S., and the Pincian hill E. It therefore comprised the *Campus Martius*, and was upwards of 30,000 feet in circuit, being the most extensive of the fourteen regions.

10ma. *Palatium.* The Palatine hill.

11ma *Circus Maximus.* The Murtian valley between the Palatine and the Aventine.

12ma. *Piscina Publica.* A continuation of the eleventh region as far as the Baths of Caracalla, which it included.

13a. *Aventinus.* The Aventine, and the space between that hill and the Tiber.

14ta. *Transtyberina.* Containing, besides the space enclosed within the walls of Aurelian, the *Janiculum*, the *Mons* and *Campus Vaticanus*, and all the ground occupied by the modern city as far as the castle of S. Angelo.

Pliny informs us, that there were, in his time,

thirty-seven gates to the city, besides seven which no longer existed.* Their names and situation have afforded abundant matter for speculation and dispute to antiquaries. The principal gates, the situation of which seems tolerably well ascertained, were the following: 1. *Porta Collina, vel Agonensis,* supposed to answer to the present *Porta Salara.* It was by this gate the Gauls entered Rome. 2. *Porta Salutaris,* on the Quirinal. 3. *Porta Viminalis,* on the hill of that name. 4. *Porta Esquilina* (near the Arch of Gallienus), from which issued the *Via Tiburtina, Prænestina,* and *Labicana.* 5. *Porta Querquetulana,* between the Esquiline and Cœlian hills. 6. *Porta Cœlimontana.* The *Porta Nævia* and *P. Rauduscularia* were on the same mount. 7. *Porta Capena,* situated within the gate of S. Sebastian, nearer the foot of the Cœlian mount: from this gate the Appian way commenced. 8. *Porta Lavernalis,* near the gate of *S. Paolo.* 9. *Porta Trigemina, vel Navalis,* at the fort of the Aventine. 10. *Porta Portuensis,* in the *regio transtyberina,* near the present *Porta Portese.* 11. *Porta Septimiana,* answering to the modern *Porta Settimiana.* 12. *Porta Flumentana,* close to the Tiber, near the bridge of *Sta. Maria.* The four gates that were added by Aurelian, are nearly all in use at the present day: they are the *Porta Aurelia, Flaminia, Pinciana,* (shut up,) and *Ostiensis.*†

* In the wall of Servius Tullius there were seven gates, and three more in the part which Aurelian added beyond the Tiber.—Burton, vol. i. p. 76.

† Cramer, vol. i. pp. 361—3. At present, there are sixteen gates, but only twelve are open.

'Architecture,' remarks Mr. Forsyth, 'was unknown in Rome, until the Tarquins came down from Etruria.' So far as any remains of that period are to be recognised, we have certainly good reason for regarding ancient Rome as an Etrurian city. Tarquinius Priscus, to whom history unequivocally attributes the *Cloaca Maxima*, was born in Etruria, of Grecian parents. Pliny speaks with admiration of the prodigious strength of this work, as having lasted in his time seven hundred years. Seventeen hundred years have since elapsed, and still it remains to excite the wonder of posterity, as firm, to all appearance, as on the day of its foundation.* The original object of the *Cloaca Maxima* was to carry off the overflowings of the Tiber and some smaller streams, from the low ground near the Forum and the valleys between the hills. The stones employed in the arch, are of an enormous size, and are placed together without any cement, as in the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns. There are three courses of arch-stones, of *peperino*, one above the other. The height is computed to be 18 Roman palms or about 13 English feet, and the width the same. A view of it may be obtained at its outlet into the Tiber, a little below the *Ponte Rotto;* and a portion of it may be seen near the Arch of Janus.†

* Mr. Woods thinks it hardly credible, that some restorations should not have been found necessary.

† 'We see only two ends of a short piece, running, perhaps, 200 yards from the neighbourhood of the Arch of Janus into the Tiber. At the upper end, only one course of arch-stones, of *peperino*, is seen, and the joints somewhat loosened by time. In front of this is another arch, of brick,

The Mamertine prisons,* constructed on the declivity of the Capitoline Mount towards the Forum, present another specimen of the works of the Etrurian kings. They are built, like the *Cloacæ*, of large blocks without cement. According to Livy, they were constructed by Ancus Martius,

springing from a higher level, but apparently of ancient workmanship. The older arch is filled up with silt to somewhat above the springing. Towards the land, the modern sewer varies its direction, and the old one is entirely filled up. Close by the sewer is a good spring of clear water, and a little higher up, another more copious one. They are so far distinct, that the use of the upper as a washing-place, does not affect the lower. The upper spring appears from beneath a brick arch, and may therefore be brought from some distance; the lower rises under rocks. The position of this spring is of importance in settling the topography of ancient Rome, as it must have supplied the lake of Juturna, and have been the place where Castor and Pollux were seen watering their horses after the battle of the lake Regillus. Some have supposed another spring, in order to put the lake of Juturna, and consequently the temple of Vesta, at the foot of the Palatine, just by the three columns of Jupiter Stator. The arrangement is doubtless convenient, but the evidence is defective.'—Woods, vol. i. p. 347.

* Dr. Burton suggests, with great plausibility, that as Mars, in the Oscan language, was called *Mamers*, Mamertius might be the same as Martius, the reputed founder, from whom too the Mamertian family was not improbably descended. An inscription assigns the present edifice to C. Vibius Rufus and M. Cocceius Nerva, A.R. 775; but the lower part, at least, is supposed to be more ancient. In the lower dungeon, there is a small spring, said to have risen up at the command of St. Peter, in order to baptize his keepers, Sts. Processus and Martinianus, whom he had converted! The prison itself, with a small chapel in front, is now dedicated to him; and over it is the church of *S. Giuseppe de' Falegnami*, built in 1539.—Burton, vol. i. pp. 28—33.—Woods, vol. i. p. 333.

and enlarged by Servius Tullius; whence they were sometimes called Tullian. The lower prison, ascribed to the latter king, is thought, however, to have been a quarry. A more horrible dungeon can scarcely be imagined. The upper prison is 27 feet long by 20 wide, and 14 in height. The lower is of an elliptical shape, 20 feet by 10, and 7 in height. The only entrance is by a small aperture in the roof; and a similar hole in the floor of the upper prison led to the cell below. That these were used as state prisons, seems unquestionable, as they answer in all respects to the accurate description given by Sallust, of the Tullian prison in which Jugurtha was confined. But, whether this was the original purpose for which they were constructed, may be questioned. They correspond so exactly to the form of the ancient subterranean granaries, which are known to have been occasionally applied to the incarceration of prisoners,* that there is little room to doubt that they were primarily designed for that better purpose; possibly in the remoter days when the Capitol was occupied by the Saturnian city.

Not far from these prisons, on the other side of the steps leading to the Forum, there are to be seen the foundations and great fragments of the ancient buildings of the Capitol. The latter are principally seen within the prisons, at the back of the *Palazzo Senatorio:* the former consist of great blocks of *peperino*, and seem to form the face of the hill. They are interesting chiefly as affording another example of what is termed the

* See Mod. Trav. vol. xxi. p. 32.

Cyclopean masonry, supposed to distinguish the Etrurian period. Above this was the ancient *Tabularium* or Record-office, the front of which consisted of a range of piers and arches, with a sort of Doric pilaster, and a capital more singular than beautiful. 'The material and the style of the work,' remarks Mr. Woods, 'seem to announce its erection during the time of the Republic; but, the place has been used as a salt magazine under Nicholas V., about the middle of the fifteenth century. This substance is said to have destroyed the piers, and rendered it necessary to take them down, and replace them by the continued wall which now exists. Some capitals and nearly the whole line of the architrave, are all that remain. Above these, nothing is exhibited externally of the ancient edifice. Within are masses of masonry and portions of vaults mixed with the modern constructions.'*

These three works, the *Cloaca Maxima*, the Mamertine Prison, and the *Tabularium*, are all built of the stone called by the ancients Alban stone, because they obtained it from the neighbourhood of Alba, and by the modern Romans, *Peperino*, from the town of Piperno, or from the black spots on it resembling pepper. Subsequently, two other kinds of stones came to be used; the Tiburtine or Travertine, a species of tufa, and *Tufo* (the *tophus* of Vitruvius), which appears to be of volcanic origin: it is the softest of all stones employed in building, and was used only for the interior of edifices, as in the inside of the Coliseum.

* Woods, vol. i. p. 331.

The only other architectural remains which bear marks of much higher antiquity than the Augustan age, are, a fragment or two of the Tullian walls,* part of the substructure of the *Ponte Rotto* and the *Ponte di quattro Capi* (*Pons Fabricius*), and some of the work in the gigantic aqueducts. Both within and without the walls, the latter exhibit work of great antiquity. It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the precise date of some of these structures, which have evidently been repaired at different periods; but many parts of them bespeak the solid and massy architecture of the early ages of Rome.† The pyramid in memory of C. Cestius, near the *Porta S. Paolo*, is of a date somewhat prior to the time of Augustus, though not much so; and that of the tomb of Bibulus may be fixed, Dr. Burton thinks, a little earlier than that of Cestius. The tomb of Cecilia Metella is also of the time of the Republic, but not long before the close of it, as is indicated by the marble used in the structure, from the quarries

* The walls of Rome, as they now stand, can in no part claim a greater antiquity than the time of Aurelian. There is reason, however, to believe, that a fragment of a wall in the Villa Mattei on the Cœlian hill, is part of the ancient circuit; and if so, we may find in it a monument of the age of Servius Tullius. In the gardens of Sallust, now those of the Villa Barberini, there is another portion of wall, which is also said to have belonged to the ancient circuit.—Burton, vol. i. p. 36.

† Till the year of Rome 441, the city was supplied with water from the Tiber only. Appius Claudius, the Censor in that year, brought a stream from a distance of seven miles; but of this aqueduct, which was chiefly subterranean, no trace has been discovered.—Burton, vol. i. p. 38. Can this be the upper spring near the sewer, mentioned by Mr. Woods?

of Luna or Carrara, which had not long been worked. The tomb of the Scipio family, which is the most ancient, is nothing but a subterranean vault, and does not therefore come under the head of architectural remains. The temple of Vesta, now the church of *S. Stefano delle Carrozze* and *La Madonna del Sole*, between the Arch of Janus and the river, is thought by some antiquaries to be older than the Augustan age; but Dr. Burton with more probability supposes it to be that which was restored by Julia Pia, wife of Septimius Severus, after it had been burned in the year 191, under Commodus. If so, it may perhaps occupy the site of the round temple erected by Numa. The temple of *Fortuna Virilis* (now the church of *Santa Maria Egizziaca*), near the *Ponte Rotto*, may in like manner occupy the site of that which is said to have been built by Servius Tullius, which was also burned. The church of *SS. Cosmo* and *Damiano* in the Forum, a building of the sixth century, has for its vestibule, a temple of Remus, which is probably prior to the Augustan age; Dr. Burton thinks considerably so. The Arch of Janus cannot be older than the decline of the Republic, from the Greek marble of which it is built. The date of the *Basilica* of Paulus Æmilius, which now forms part of the church of *S. Adriano in Foro,* and that of the Baths of P. Æmilius, near the column of Trajan, do not appear to have been ascertained.

The comparative paucity of the architectural vestiges of the Republic is easily explained. In the first place, it is not probable that extensive and permanent edifices were often erected under the

Consular Government, which was too rotatory and transient for works of magnitude. The perpetual wars in which the State was engaged, scarcely allowed a breathing time for the arts to adorn and embellish the city. The public religion was also, during the greater part of those ages, unmixed with the Greek and Egyptian superstitions, which, by introducing a crowd of new divinities, gave rise to more numerous and spacious temples.* The materials employed in the earlier edifices, with the exception of the great works of the Tullian age, were probably ill adapted for perpetuity. Timber appears to have been extensively used, together with a very soft and friable stone, and brick. How interesting soever the remains of 'the free city' might be to the historian and the antiquary,—how impressive soever their character from being associated with 'the glorious institutions' of those days,—to the eye of the artist or the architect, they would probably have presented few attractions. Nor did the buildings of ancient Rome constitute those features of the scenery which would most powerfully excite the local attachment of its citizens,—but rather its hills and fields, old Tiber, and

'The deep blue sky of Rome.'†

* The temples *vetustissimâ religione* which were burned in the reign of Nero, were, according to Tacitus, only five.

† The splendour of her public buildings does not, it has been remarked, enter into the recollections of the banished Camillus, when he is so pathetically recalling the objects that endeared to him his beloved Rome: '*Quotiescunque patria in mentem veniret, hæc omnia occurrebant; colles campique et Tiberis et assueta oculis regio, et hoc cœlum sub quo natus educatusque essem.*'—Liv. Hist. v. 32.

When the Gauls burned the city, A. U. C. 365, it may be concluded that few edifices escaped. It was rebuilt, Livy tells us, in a year, without any plan or order. The great haste made them careless of forming the streets in straight lines, so that the sewers, which were originally carried through the public way, passed under private houses in every direction. Tacitus speaks of the houses being built in no order and at random, and of the streets being excessively winding and irregular; and Suetonius complains of the deformity of the buildings, and the narrowness and windings of the streets.* In the 350 years which elapsed between the burning of Rome and the reign of Augustus, many magnificent temples and public buildings might be erected; but of this, we have no historic evidence. 'The Romans,' Dr. Burton remarks, 'were not naturally a people of taste. They never excelled in the fine arts; and their own writers invariably allow, that they were indebted to Greece for every thing which was elegant in the arts.'† Up to the year U.C. 662, no marble columns had been introduced into any public building; and the first example of their being used as decorations of private houses, was set in that year by the orator Crassus. The age of Roman luxury seems to have commenced with the fall of Carthage and of Corinth. After that period, it rapidly increased; yet, the boast of Augustus, that he had found Rome of brick, and left it of marble, although to be taken in some respects as an imperial hyperbole,

* See authorities in Burton, vol. i. p. 20.
† Burton, vol. i. pp. 22, 3.

proves that, in his reign, a very perceptible alteration must have taken place in the appearance of the city.

The complaint that there are so few monuments of the time of the Republic, is not then very reasonable; nor does there seem to be much room for pathetic regret. It has been said, that 'the Rome which an Englishman would wish to find, is not that of Augustus and his successors, but of those greater and better men of whose heroic actions his earliest impressions are composed.' Yet, it is admitted by this passionate admirer of the Roman democracy, 'that the courtly and melodious muses that graced the first age of the monarchy, have affixed an imperishable interest to every site and object connected with their patrons or their poetry.'* Is not this the true source of the classic enthusiasm which invests the site of the seven-hilled city with such mysterious attractions? It is surely neither 'to worship at the shrine of the Flavian princes,' nor to do homage to the memory of the Gracchi or the Scipios, that we repair to Rome. It is neither the virtues of its patriots, nor the might and magnificence of its Cæsars, that give to these ruins their charm. It is the

* Hobhouse's Notes, 196, 7. 'It is not to worship at the shrine of the Flavian princes,' says Mr. Hobhouse, 'nor to do homage to the forbearance of Trajan, or to the philosophy of Aurelius, that we undertake the pilgrimage of Rome. Our youthful pursuits inspire us with no respect or affection for this nation, independent of their republican virtues. It is to refresh our recollections of those virtues, that we explore the ruins of the city which gave them birth; and absorbed by an early devotion for the patriots of Rome, we are indifferent to the records of her princes.'

Rome of Virgil and Horace, of Tully and Sallust, that the pilgrim seeks; not as sympathizing with either the rabble or their tyrants, but as desirous of conversing, in their own haunts, with the shades of the illustrious dead, whose genius and eloquence, rather than their virtues, have consecrated the soil,—where still the Roman lyre gives music to the breeze,

'And still the eloquent air breathes—burns with Cicero.'

Among the principal causes that have wrought the destruction of ancient Rome, must be ranked the repeated conflagrations by which it has been laid waste, and which would seem almost to preclude the possibility of our finding many vestiges of even the Augustan city. Where is the London of 1660? Out of the fourteen regions into which Rome was divided, only four entirely escaped the great fire of Nero; three were totally consumed, and seven were partially injured. Another great fire happened in the reign of Titus, which lasted three days and three nights. In the thirteenth year of Trajan, there occurred a conflagration which consumed part of the Forum and of the Golden House of Nero; and one which appears to have committed very extensive ravages, occurred in the reign of Maximinus.* Besides these, several partial fires took place at different periods, in consequence of popular tumults, which

* Burton, vol. i. p. 19.—'The temples under the Capitol,' Mr. Hobhouse remarks, 'bear witness to the falls and fires which had required the constant attention and repair of the senate, and which became more common after the transfer of the seat of government to Constantinople.'—Hobhouse, p. 93.

proved fatal to many of the public edifices; among others, to the Baths of Constantine; and an inscription which records the repair of this edifice, informs us how small were the resources of the senate and people, at that period, for restoring the ancient structures.

Nor was fire the only physical agent that assisted in the obliteration of the city of the Cæsars. 'The Tyber which Augustus cleansed, which Trajan deepened, and Aurelian endeavoured to restrain with a mound, rose not unfrequently to the walls, and terrified the pious cruelty of the Romans into persecution.'* The repeated notices of inundation, form part of the melancholy annals of the declining capital. The violence of civil contests within the walls, is enumerated among the circumstances which contributed to the decay of the city; and this was hastened still more certainly, though slowly, by the secret dilapidation of ancient structures, both private and public, which had begun to attract attention so early as the beginning of the fourth century, and was expressly interdicted by successive imperial laws. The removal of the seat of empire to Byzantium, encouraged the spoliation of the old capital; and Vossius dates the ruin of Rome from the reign of Constantine.† The departure of many of the principal families for the banks of the Bospho-

* Hobhouse, p. 95. The Writer refers to a remarkable passage in Tertullian's Apology. '*Tyberis si ascendit ad mœnia; si Nilus non ascendit in arva; si cœlum stetit, si terra movit; si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad leones.*'

† '*Non à barbaris, sed prius à Constantino eversam fuisse Romam.*'—Cited by Hobhouse, p. 95.

rus, emptied of their treasures a number of the patrician palaces; nor were the public structures spared, when the debasement of the arts left the Romans no other resource for embellishing the new edifices, than the despoiling of the ancient monuments. The conversion of Constantine, and the establishment of Christianity, led to a change in the destination of many of the public buildings, which, if somewhat detrimental to their architecture, secured their preservation. The law of Honorius which forbade the destruction of the ancient edifices, proves, however, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, that the Christians had been actively employed in demolishing the haunts and symbols of the ancient superstition. Nor is it easy, he adds, to interpret in more than one way the words of St. Jerome: 'The golden Capitol has lost all its splendour; the temples of Rome are covered with dust and cobwebs; the very city is moved from its foundations, and the overflowing people rush before the half-torn-up shrines to the tombs of the martyrs.' At length, in the year 426, a general edict of Theodosius the Younger, directed the destruction of all the remaining temples and fanes.*

The extent of the damage and devastation occasioned by the barbarians, has been the subject of much learned controversy. It is certain, that moveable plunder, not a wanton destruction of buildings, was the object of the invaders; but there can be no doubt that much injury was committed even by Alaric. The account of his burning the houses in the neighbourhood of the *Porta Salara*,

* Hobhouse, p. 74.

by which he entered the city in 410, is confirmed by the assertion of Procopius, that the house of Sallust remained in his day a heap of ruins. Cassiodorus asserts, that 'many of the wonders of Rome were burned.' Forty-five years after, Genseric entered the city at the head of his Vandals, and the pillage lasted fourteen days. Several shiploads of spoil were sent to Africa, among which were numerous statues and medals, the bronze tiles which covered the Capitol, and the Jewish spoils brought to Rome by Titus. The conqueror is stated to have withheld both fire and sword at the intercession of St. Leo; but, although there was no general conflagration, part of the city suffered from fire; nor could the public buildings have been stripped of their decorations without destructive violence. The sack of Rome by Ricimer, A. D. 472, must have been productive of considerable damage.

Between the sieges by Genseric and Totila, however, Rome appears to have suffered as much from its own inhabitants as from any of the invaders. A decree of the Emperor Majorian, issued shortly after the retreat of Genseric, prohibits the further demolition of the ancient edifices, to which the citizens appear to have had recourse as to a quarry, in repairing the damages inflicted upon their own habitations by the besiegers. To Vitiges, the king of the Goths, who besieged Rome in 537, but without success, is ascribed the destruction of the aqueducts, which rendered useless the immense *thermæ:* he burned every thing without the walls, and commenced the desolation of the Campagna. In the fortifications which Belisarius

constructed or restored, in his famous defence of the city, the materials of ancient architecture may be discerned:* the arches of the aqueducts were made impervious, and the mole or sepulchre of Hadrian was converted for the first time to the uses of a citadel. The works of Praxiteles or Lysippus were torn from their lofty pedestals, and hurled into the ditch on the heads of the besiegers.

For this time, Rome was saved by the skill and intrepidity of the Imperial general; but in 546, another Gothic army entered the city, under Totila, and a third part of the walls was thrown down. Procopius affirms, that he burned not a small portion of the city; and Mr. Hobhouse remarks, that there is no certain trace of the palace of the Cæsars having survived this irruption. With Totila, the dilapidation of Rome by the barbarians, is generally supposed to have terminated. The incursion of the Lombards in 578 and 593, completed the desolation of the Campagna, but did not affect the city itself. But towards the close of this century, nature herself seemed to take into her own hand the work of ruin; and a prediction ascribed to St. Benedict, appeared to be on the point of fulfilment, that 'Rome should be exterminated, not by the heathen, but by tempests, lightnings, and earthquakes.'† The Tiber, swelled by ex-

* 'The accurate eye of Nardini,' says Gibbon, 'could distinguish the *tumultuarie opere di Belisario*.'

† Cited by Gibbon (c. 45.), who remarks, that 'such a prophecy melts into true history, and becomes the evidence of the fact after which it was invented.' Mr. Hobhouse has exposed the flippancy of this attempt to dispose of the prophecy, and vindicated Gregory the Great from his

cessive rains, rushed with irresistible violence into the valleys, and overthrew the walls of many ancient edifices. A pestilential disease arose from the stagnant waters of the flood; 'and so rapid was the contagion, that fourscore persons expired in an hour, in the midst of a solemn procession which implored the mercy of Heaven.' With pestilence and famine raging within the walls, and a wilderness without, the population of the city must have been frightfully contracted; and it may be supposed, that many spots were now deserted, which were never afterwards inhabited.

It is impossible to assign a precise date to the total desertion of the greater part of the ancient site; but the calamities of the seventh and eighth centuries, following upon the sieges and other disasters of the sixth, must have gone far towards consummating the ruin of the Cæsarean city. 'A scarcity in the year 604; a violent earthquake a few years afterwards; a pestilence in or about the year 678; five tremendous inundations of the Tyber between 680 and 797;* a second famine in the pontificate of Pope Constantine, which continued for six and thirty months; a pestilence in the last year of the seventh century; and the assault of the Lombards for three months under Astolphus in 755; these,' says Mr. Hobhouse, 'are the events

unjust sarcasm. But was the declaration of St. Benedict anything more than an *interpretation* of inspired prediction? It is possible, at least, that he grounded it on Rev. xviii.

* Of that in 717, it is stated, that for seven days, Rome was laid under water. That of 791 tore down the Flaminian gate, and rose to the height of two men; and the city was under water for many days.

which compose the Roman history of this unhappy period. The lawful sovereigns had degraded the capital of the world to the seat of a dutchy; and the only visit which an Emperor of the East (Constans) deigned to make to Rome, was not to protect, but to despoil.'*

The period of the Exarchate and of the Lombard domination, is that of the lowest distress of Rome. The most diligent inquiry has been insufficient to discover who were her acknowledged masters, or what was the form of her domestic government. Subsequently to the extinction of the Exarchate by Astolphus in 752, she had been abandoned, but was never formally resigned by the Greek Cæsars. After Gregory II., in 728 (or 729), and Gregory III., in 741, had solicited the aid of Charles Martel against the Lombards, and against the iconoclast tyrants of Constantinople, it might be thought, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, that the supremacy of the Greek empire had ceased to be recognised. Yet, down to the close of that century, it appears that a certain respect survived for the successors of Constantine, and a nominal recognition of their authority. Gregory III. is usually considered as the first of the independent popes; although he acknowledged the superior authority of the Exarch of Ravenna, to whom he applied for permission to use six columns of some structure for St. Peter's church.† Indeed, up to this time, the Popes

* Hobhouse, pp. 108—110.

† Gibbon says: 'The Exarch was permitted to reside within the walls of Ravenna, a captive, rather than a master; and till the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine.'

affected to disclaim the temporal magistracy; and a letter is extant, in which the senate and commonalty of Rome address Pepin, King of the Franks, as Patrician of the Romans. This indefinite title is considered by Gibbon as equivalent only to protector; and so long as the kingdoms of Lombardy existed, the Roman republic maintained, with its bishop, the shadow of independence. But, after the conquest of Lombardy, Rome became subject to the sceptre of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family; in his name, money was coined, and justice administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. By accepting from the hands of the Carlovingian Emperor the splendid donation of the exarchate, the Roman bishop acknowledged the right and sovereignty of the donor. But both Ravenna and Rome were still numbered by the Emperor in the list of his metropolitan cities.

The dominion of the exarchate soon melted away in the hands of the popes, who found in the archbishops of Ravenna, dangerous rivals. Disdaining to hold this equivocal sovereignty by so frail a tenure, the daring genius of Pope Adrian I. had recourse to a forgery; and by a fictitious donation from Constantine, he had the address to impose alike on the Emperor and his Roman subjects. Delivered by this bold imposture from their debt of gratitude to the Carlovingian princes, the dominion of the pontiffs no longer depended on either Imperial favour or the choice of a fickle people; and thus, 'the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and

prerogatives of the Cæsars.' Such is the representation of the historian. Yet, it must be remembered, that the papal lordship underwent no real change by thus antedating the title-deeds. It continued to be elective, not hereditary, and was only an honourable species of fief or benefice, held by the first Bishop of the empire. Italy and Rome were still subject to the Emperor, who received, not his power, but his crown from the hands of the Roman pontiff; while the latter, in his turn, could not be legally consecrated, till the Emperor had signified his approbation.

The successors of Adrian enjoyed, in fact, a very limited and precarious sovereignty. The disorders incident to an elective monarchy were exhibited on a smaller scale, but with disgraceful violence. 'The competitor who had been excluded by the cardinals, appealed to the passions or avarice of the multitude; the Vatican and the Lateran were stained with blood; and the most powerful senators, the Marquisses of Tuscany and the Counts of Tusculum, held the Apostolic See in a long and disgraceful servitude. The Roman pontiffs of the ninth and tenth centuries were insulted, imprisoned, and murdered by their tyrants; and such was their indigence, after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, that they could neither support the state of a prince, nor exercise the charity of a priest.' The character of most of these mitred rulers was infamous. For above twenty years, during the pontificate of John XI., the government of Rome was administered by a temporal prince, who is said to have gratified the popular prejudice by restoring the offices, or at least the

titles of consuls and tribunes. The scandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the austere and dangerous virtues of Gregory VII., who is styled by Gibbon, ' the founder of the papal monarchy.' Yet, this ambitious monk, with whom is said to have originated the daring project of converting the western empire into a fief of the Church, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. ' Six and thirty of his successors, till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans. Their age and dignity were often violated ; and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder.....The vanity of sacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confession (of the fugitive Pope Gelasius II.), that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty.'*

The history of Rome is now, for a considerable interval, but slenderly connected with that of its pontiffs; and we look in vain for the phantom of a papal monarchy. ' The care of their diocese,' says Gibbon, ' was less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed, and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France. From the tumults of Rome, they prudently withdrew to live and die in the more tranquil stations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. In these occasional retreats, the exiles and

* Gibbon, c. xlix, lxix.

fugitives of the Vatican were seldom long or far distant from the metropolis ; but, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the apostolic throne was transported, as it might seem for ever, from the Tiber to the Rhone.' For above seventy years, and during eight pontificates, Avignon flourished as the seat of the popes and the ecclesiastical metropolis of Christendom.

During this period, Rome was the scene of a remarkable revolution ; and the Tribune Rienzi restored, during his short reign, the pomp of the Cæsars. In the character of this extraordinary man, the patriot and the usurper, the hero and the coward, the knave and the madman, were strangely blended. Yet, he figures in the romance of history, as the deliverer of his country and the last of the Romans. Gregory XI., driven from Avignon by the incursions of freebooters, obeyed the invitation of the senate and people of Rome, to return to the Vatican as their lawful sovereign. His decease, in 1378, was followed by the great schism of the West, occasioned by a disputed election, which distracted the Latin church above forty years. The claims of the Neapolitan, Urban VI., and the validity of his election, were maintained by Rome and the principal States of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North ; while France, Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Scotland, gave their obedience to Clement VII., and, after his decease, to Benedict XIII. From the banks of the Tiber and the Rhone, the hostile pontiffs launched against each other their anathemas and the louder thunders of war. Pope Urban

and his three successors were repeatedly compelled, by foreign arms or by popular tumults, to suspend their residence in the Vatican. At length, the scandal of this double head of the church, produced a general desire to heal the schism, by obtaining the abdication of the rival pretenders, and proceeding to a new election. By the council of Pisa, in 1409, the Popes of Rome and Avignon were both deposed, and the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander V. His vacant seat was soon filled by a similar election of John XXIII., 'the most profligate of mankind.' Instead of extinguishing the schism, however, the rashness of the French and Italians had only created a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. The kings of Germany, Hungary, and Naples still adhered to the cause of Gregory XII., while the Pope of Avignon, a Spaniard by birth, was supported by his own nation. The rash proceedings of Pisa were corrected by the council of Constance. Of the three Popes, the infamous John XXIII., being arraigned for his crimes, was forced to subscribe his own condemnation, which consigned him to imprisonment. Gregory XII. descended with more honour from the throne, his ambassador convening the session in which he renounced the title and authority of pope. Benedict XIII. was deposed, with the concurrence of the Spaniards; and the obstinate but harmless old man was left in a solitary castle, to excommunicate twice a-day the rebel kingdoms which had deserted his cause. The elevation of a member of the illustrious and powerful family of Colonna to the vacant chair, in 1417, under the title of Martin V., united all

parties, and forms the era of the restoration and establishment of the popes in the Vatican. 'The royal prerogative of coining money, after being exercised nearly 300 years by the Senate, was first resumed by Martin V.; and his image and superscription introduce the series of the Papal medals. Of his two immediate successors, Eugenius IV. was the last pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people;* and Nicholas V., the last who was importuned by the presence of a Roman emperor.' The successors of Frederic III., the last sovereign of Germany who was crowned at Rome, excused themselves from the toilsome pilgrimage to the Vatican, content to rest their imperial title, as heads of the Roman empire, on the choice of the electors of Germany.

The barons of Rome still, however, maintained their turbulent independence. Under the reign of Sixtus IV., Rome was distracted and devastated by the conflicts of the rival houses; and it was not till the beginning of the sixteenth century, that the Popes acquired the absolute dominion of the city. In the year 1580, the ancient statutes, collected and methodized in three books, were adopted, with the approbation of Gregory XIII., as the civil and criminal law of the city; and, in imitation of the policy of the Cæsars, the bishops of Rome have affected to maintain the forms of a republic, while reigning with the absolute powers of a temporal, as well as spiritual monarch.†

* He was deposed by the Council of Basle, in 1439; and for ten years, the church was again divided by two rival pontiffs.—See page 154 of our first volume.

† In the preceding sketch of the political revolutions of

We must now go back to the commencement of the eighth century, in order to trace the consequences of all these revolutions, in the aspect of the city and the fate of its ancient ruins. 'Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage,' Gibbon remarks, 'the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion.' The vague tradition, that the Apostles Peter and Paul had been executed in the circus of Nero, was the means of indemnifying her for the loss of the seat of empire; and at the end of five hundred years, their pretended relics were adored as the Palladium of Christian Rome. The city of the Cæsars became the Mecca of the Latin world.

'When the history of the pontiffs becomes all the history of Rome, we find,' says Mr. Hobhouse, 'each moment of peace and prosperity employed in rebuilding the walls, in burning lime, in constructing churches and shrines of martyrs, the materials of which must, it is evident, have been supplied from the deserted ruins. The repair of former damages, and the increasing population after the establishment of the Carlovingian princes, augmented the application to the same common quarry.... Gregory the Great had but little time or means

Rome, from the close of the eighth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, it has merely been attempted to give the substance of the information contained in chapters xlix, lxix, and lxx, of Gibbon. Contracted as are our limits, such a brief survey seemed an indispensable introduction to a topographical description of the city and its remaining antiquities.

for the building of churches, and consequently for the spoliation of ancient edifices.* A large column was, however, transferred in those days (A.D. 608) from some other structure in the Forum, and dedicated to the murderer Phocas. The successors of Gregory were less scrupulous than himself. Honorius I. removed the gilt tiles from the temples of Romulus. Gregory III. employed nine columns of some ancient building for the church of St. Peter. The rebuilding of the city walls by four popes in the eighth century, (Sisinius, Gregory II. and III., and St. Adrian I.) was a useful but destructive operation. Their lime-kilns must have been supplied from the ancient city.... Pope Adrian I., by the infinite labour of the people employed during a whole year, threw down an immense structure of Tiburtine stone, to enlarge the church of *Sta. Maria in Cosmedin.* Donus I. had before stripped the marble from a large pyramid between the Vatican and the Castle of St. Angelo, vulgarly known by the name of the Tomb of Scipio. The spoil was laid on the floor of the *atrium* of St. Peter. Paul II. employed the stones of the Coliseum to build a palace. Sixtus IV. took down a temple, supposed to be that of Hercules, near *Sta. Maria in Cosmedin;* and the same pontiff (in 1484) destroyed the remains of an ancient bridge, to make 400 cannon-balls for

* Gibbon admits the evidence to be 'doubtful and recent,' which supports the charge of 'destructive rage,' brought against this pontiff; and Mr. Hobhouse states, that none of the charges can be traced higher than six centuries after his death. Gregory himself complained of the destruction of the edifices which he witnessed.

the castle. Alexander VI. threw down the pyramid which Donus had stripped, to make a way for his gallery between the Castle and the Vatican. Paul III. and his nephews laboured incessantly at the quarry of the Coliseum. This Pope applied himself to the Theatre of Marcellus, to the Forum of Trajan, to a temple (usually called of Pallas) opposite the Temple of Faustina, to that temple itself, to the Arch of Titus, and to a large mass of ancient work, which he levelled to the ground, in the *Piazza del Popolo.* Sixtus V. carried away the remains of the *Septizonium* of Severus, for the service of St. Peter's; and a contemporary positively mentions, that he threw down certain statues still remaining in the Capitol. Urban VIII. took off the bronze from the portico of the Pantheon, to make cannon, and to construct the confessional of St. Peter. He took away also some of the base of the sepulchre of Cecilia Metella, for the fountain of Trevi.* Paul V. removed the entablature and pediment of a structure in the forum of Nerva, for his fountain on the Janiculum; and transported the remaining column of the Temple of Peace, to decorate the place before *Sta. Maria Maggiore.* Lastly, Alexander VII. took down the arch commonly called *Di Portogallo,* in order to widen the *Corso.* The inferior clergy were, it is probable, much more guilty than the pontiffs; and a volume of no inconsiderable bulk has been composed by one of their own

* The depredations on the ancient monuments, committed by this pope and his nephews, gave rise to the punning saying, '*Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecere Barbarini.*' The Farnese pope, Paul III., might be styled *Barbarissimus.*

order (Marangoni), to enumerate the pagan materials applied to the use of the church.'*

But, besides these domestic spoliations, the venality or indifference of the Romans suffered the transfer of the ancient monuments to other parts. The palace of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna and Rome. Five hundred years afterwards, Robert, king of Sicily, was supplied with materials from the same exhaustless quarry, by the easy navigation of the Tiber and the sea; and Petrarch indignantly complains, that the ancient capital of the world should be robbed to adorn the slothful luxury of Neapolis.†

The sanguinary feuds of rival factions, and the public disorders consequent upon the repeated revolutions, must not be forgotten among the causes which wrought the destruction of the ancient monuments. With some slight alteration, a theatre or a mausoleum was transformed, during these wars, into a fortress; and we are able to name the modern turrets that were raised on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæsar, Titus, and the Antonines. Some of these monuments might be entire, others were in ruins, when they were first made to serve for dwellings or forts. 'How they came into the hands of their occupiers,' says

* Hobhouse, pp. 116; 84—89.

† Gibbon, c. 71. These columns and marbles were, however, taken 'from palaces comparatively modern, from the thresholds of churches, from the shrines of sepulchres,—from structures to which they had been conveyed from their original site, and finally from fallen ruins.'—Hobhouse, p. 145.

Mr. Hobhouse, ' whether by grant from the Popes, or by seizure, or by vacancy, is unknown. Whatever were the means by which they obtained possession, the Orsini, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, had occupied the Mole of Hadrian and the Theatre of Pompey; the Colonna, the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Baths of Constantine. The Conti were in the Quirinal. The Frangipani had the Coliseum and the Septizonium of Severus, the Janus of the *Forum Boarium*, and a corner of the Palatine. The Savelli were at the Tomb of Metella. The Corsi had fortified the Capitol, and occupied the Basilica of St. Paul. And the Pantheon was a fortress defended for the Pope.

' When, in the eleventh century, the quarrels between the Church and the Empire had embroiled the whole of Italy, Rome was necessarily the chosen scene of combat. Within her walls, there was space to fight, and there were fortresses to defend. We read accordingly, in the annals of those times, of armies encamped on the Aventine, and moving from the Tomb of Hadrian to the Lateran, or turning aside to the Coliseum or the Capitol, as if through a desert, to the attack of the strong posts occupied by the respective partizans of the Pope or the Empire. Gregory VII. may have the merit of having founded that power to which modern Rome owes all her importance; but it is equally certain, that to the same pontiff must be ascribed the final extinction of the city of the Cæsars. The Emperor Henry IV., the troops of the Pope's nephew, Rusticus, and the Normans of Robert Guiscard, were more injurious to the

remains of Rome, from 1082 to 1084, than all the preceding barbarians of every age. The former burned a great part of the Leonine city, and ruined the portico of St. Peter: he destroyed also the long portico from the Ostian gate to the church of St. Paul. In his last irruption, he levelled a part of the Septizonium, to dislodge Rusticus; razed the fortresses of the Corsi on the Capitol, and battered the Mole of Hadrian. The Normans and Saracens of Guiscard's army, with the papal faction, burned the town from the Flaminian gate to the Antonine column, and laid waste the sides of the Esquiline to the Lateran; thence he set fire to the region from that church to the Coliseum and the Capitol, or, according to some authorities, to the Tiber; he attacked the Coliseum for several days, and finished the ruin of the Capitol. The conflagration of Guiscard created, or confirmed, a solitude much more extensive than is embraced by that "spacious quarter between the Lateran and the Coliseum," to which it is confined by our own Historian. From that period, at least, must be dated the desolation of a great part of the Esquiline, of all the Viminal, and much of the Cœlian hill; including the irretrievable ruin, perhaps, of the Coliseum, and certainly of many of the remaining structures of the Forums and the Sacred Way. A contemporary writer (Boninzone, Bp. of Sutri) says, that all the regions of the city were ruined; and another spectator (Archbishop Hildebert), who was in Rome twelve years afterwards, laments, that although what remained could not be equalled, what was ruined could never be repaired. What chiefly

excited his astonishment, was the beauty of the statues. William of Malmesbury, who reports the elegy of the latter Writer, also informs us, that, comparatively speaking, Rome was now become a little town.

'In those times, the rage of the conflicting factions was often vented against the houses of their enemies; and their destruction must have involved that of the neighbouring monuments, or of those in which the towers of the Roman nobles were, in many instances, built. In 1116, the citizens, revolting against Pope Paschal II., threw down several of the dwellings of the Pietro-Leone family. The Emperor Lothaire II., in 1133 or 1134, pitched his camp on the Aventine. Innocent II. was in possession of the Lateran, the Coliseum, and the Capitol; and the partisans of the Anti-pope, Anaclete, had the Vatican, the castle of St. Angelo, and many other strong places of the city. In the annals of the twelfth century, these strong places of Rome are mentioned as if they stood, not in a city, but in a province. The struggles between the pontiffs and the people, the revolution of Arnold of Brescia (1143-5), renewed the contests of Vitellius and Sabinus for the Capitol, from which were alternately driven the adherents of the new Senate and the friends of the Pope. The Basilica of St. Peter's was fortified for the people; and in those commotions, it is recorded, that many of the towers and palaces of the Roman nobles were levelled with the ground...

'The monuments are occasionally mentioned in the struggles between the pontiffs and the emperors of the house of Suabia, and in the intes-

tine factions of the nobles, in which the strong places, the Coliseum, the Septizonium, the Mole of Hadrian, the Palatine castle of the Frangipani, were repeatedly assaulted and taken. In 1150, the people attacked and took certain towers belonging to the adherents of the Pope and William of Sicily. We find, in the annals for 1167, that the Germans of Frederic Barbarossa assaulted the Vatican for a week; and the Pope saved himself in the Coliseum. The Colonna were driven from the Mausoleum of Augustus. After the Popes had begun to yield in the unequal contest with the senators and people, and had ceased to be constantly resident at their capital, the field was left open for the wars of the senators, that is, of the nobles themselves. The Colonna and the Ursini then appear among the destroyers of the city; and when, to arrest their violence, the people elected the senator Brancaleone (in 1252), the expedient of the Bolognese magistrate was, to throw down not only a hundred and forty of the towers of the refractory nobles, but, if we are to believe a contemporary historian (Mussatus), "many palaces of kings and generals, the remains of ages since the building of the city, the *thermæ*, the fanes, and the columns" of the old town. If this was the case, the tumults and the repose of Rome were alike destructive of her ancient fabrics. This record must, however, be believed with some reserve.

'There were intervals between the death of the Popes and the choice of a successor, when the city seems to have been unprovided with any recognised authorities, and the senate itself had no representa-

tive. Such an *interregnum* occurred after the death of Nicholas IV. in 1291; and six months of civil war are described by a spectator as having reduced Rome to the condition of a town besieged, bombarded, and burned. The *petrariæ*, or engines for discharging stones, which unfortunately survived the loss of other ancient arts, had arrived, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the pernicious perfection of darting enormous masses, perhaps of 1200 pounds weight. They are noted among the instruments of destruction employed at Rome in this and the subsequent period, and were erected on the basilicas and towers . . . The Emperor Henry VII. found that all the towers had not been thrown down by the Bolognese senator, for he was obliged to drive the Annibaldi from the *Torre de' Militii*, from the Tower of St. Mark, and from the Coliseum; and, so late as the reign of Martm V., there were forty-four towers in one *borgo* of the city. The coronation of the Emperor Henry VII. was attended with battles fought in every quarter of the city, from the Vatican to the Lateran; and while he received the ensigns of universal empire in the latter church, his rival, John, the brother of Robert of Naples, was in possession of the fortress (the church) of St. Peter's, and of several other posts in the heart of Rome. The fall of houses, the fire, the slaughter, the ringing of the bells from all the churches, the shouts of the combatants, and the clanging of arms,—the *Roman* people rushing together from all quarters towards the Capitol,—this universal uproar was the strange, but not unusual prelude to the coronation of a Cæsar. A spectator of these disasters records

that they continued after the Emperor had retired from Rome to Tivoli, and that the cardinals apprehended the total destruction of the city.....

'The great earthquake of 1349 may have been more pernicious than human violence, and would appear to have thrown down some of the ancient monuments. An inundation of the Tiber, in 1345, is faithfully recorded among the afflictions of the times. The summits of the hills alone were above the water, which converted the lower grounds to a lake for eight days. The absence of the popes might have been fatal to the modern city, and have reduced it to a solitude; but such a solitude would have protected many a fragment, which their return and the subsequent rapid re-population of the city have for ever annihilated. Their return was the signal for renewed violence. The Colonna and the Orsini, the People and the Church, fought for the Capitol and towers; and the fortress of the popes, the refitted Mole of Hadrian, repeatedly bombarded the town.

'During the great schism of the West, the hostile entries of Ladislaus of Naples (1405, 1408, 1413), and the tumultuary government of the famous Perugian, Braccio-montone, are known to have despoiled the tomb of Hadrian: perhaps, they were fatal to other monuments. Yet, that violence was, probably, less pernicious than the peaceful spoliation which succeeded to the extinction of the schism in the person of Martin V. in 1417, and the suppression, in 1434, of the last revolt of the Romans, by his successor, Eugenius IV. From this epoch must be dated the consumption of such marble or travertine as might either be stripped

with facility from the stable monuments, or be found in isolated fragments. A broken statue, a prostrate, or even a standing column in the habitable part of the town, and the larger structures yet remaining in the vineyards, were considered by the owners of the land, within and without the walls, as their own property, and to be applied to their own use. The repairs commenced by Martin V., and carried on more vigorously by Eugenius IV., required a supply of materials and of cement, which was obtained from the ruins... The fatal lime-burning awakened the indignation of a poet, to whom it appeared a new offence; and the testimony of Blondus and Æneas Sylvius shews, that there was some ground for the exaggeration of the angry Florentine, Poggio, who, having witnessed the destruction of some monuments, wonders that any remnant of antiquity should have escaped the fury and cupidity of the Romans... In the interval between the two visits of Poggio to Rome, the cell and a part of the Temple of Concord, and of the base of the Tomb of Metella, had been ground to lime. A portico near the Minerva was also demolished for the same purpose..

'The fabrication of churches and other buildings was continued with so pernicious an activity during the reign of Nicholas V. (elected in 1447), the modern Augustus, that Pius II. enforced the complaints which he had uttered as a poet, by issuing a bull in 1462, *de antiquis ædificiis non diruendis*. This prudence was but a feeble check against the renewed demand for materials, which ensued upon the total reform of the city by Sixtus IV. in 1480. The Rome of the Republic

had soon been lost; the capital of the early Cæsars had been afterwards abandoned; but isolated structures of the latter city were found, not only in the ancient site, but in the *Campus Martius*. The Rome of the lower and middle ages was a mass of irregular lanes, built upon or among ruins, and surmounted with brick towers, many of them propped on ancient basements. The streets were as narrow as those of Pompeii or old Rome: two horsemen could with difficulty ride abreast. Two hundred houses, three towers, and three churches choked up the Forum of Trajan.* The reformation of Sixtus IV., and the embellishments of his successors, have completely obliterated this town; and that which we now see, is a capital which can date only from the end of the fifteenth century.

'This reformation has been justly fixed upon as the epoch of the final destruction of whatever portion of the old city might have been confounded with the Rome of the middle ages. The enlargement and straightening of the streets, removed every obstacle, and must have consumed the bases of many ancient structures which had been buried under modern fabrics, and had escaped the notice of Blondus and Poggio. During the succeeding pontificate of Julius II., statues and marbles were still burned for lime; and the antiquarian taste which arose with the revival of letters, despoiled, rather than protected the fabrics of Rome. Paradoxical as such an assertion may

* They were removed by Paul III., on the occasion of Charles V.'s entry into Rome, in April 1536.

appear, it is indubitable that, in the golden reign of Leo X., the barbarism of defacement and destruction was at its height. It was during the pontificate of another of the Medici, Clement VII., that one of the same family, Lorenzino, carried off the heads of the captives on the Arch of Constantine. The spoliation was only impeded by the plague of 1522, and by the distresses of the reign of the same Clement.

'The sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V. has been loudly proclaimed more detrimental than that of the Goths. The complaint, however, comes from those who thought no hyperbole too extravagant to heighten the picture of that calamity. The churches and palaces were pillaged; and the chambers of the Vatican, the frescoes of Raffael, still bear witness to the barbarity of the Spanish, German, and Italian invaders. Statues, columns, precious stones, and many monuments of antiquity are noted among the spoil; but no memory is preserved of the attack of the standing fabrics, except of the Mole of Hadrian, already a modern fortress. The nine months' ravage of the Imperialists, was preceded by the three hours' sack of the Colonnas in 1526; and was followed by that of the Abate di Farfa and the peasantry of the Orsini family. In 1530, a tremendous inundation of the Tiber is said to have ruined edifices both public and private, and to have been equally calamitous with the sack of Rome. Yet, these disasters seem chiefly to have affected the houses and a few churches, and were soon repaired in the splendid pontificate of the succeeding popes. So rapidly did they proceed with the embellishment

of the new capital, that the city of Paul III. was hardly to be recognized in the time of Urban VIII. The former destruction was renewed. The bull of Paul III., issued in 1534, which made it a capital and unpardonable offence to grind down statues or pieces of marble, and appointed an antiquarian commissary to enforce the law, extended nominally to the architectural remains; yet, we know that portions of the ruins were employed in modern buildings by that Pope himself, and were afterwards consumed for the same purpose. The Farnese, the Mattei, the Borghese, and the Barberini searched for and collected the statues and inscribed marbles, to adorn their museums; but their palaces either levelled or consumed many fragments which could not be preserved as the walls of modern buildings. The stupendous vaults of the Dioclesian *thermæ* were converted into churches. The walls of those of Constantine were adjusted into the Rospigliosi palace. The Alexandrine *thermæ* supplied with columns the repairs of the Pantheon. A circus was gradually cleared away for the opening of the *Piazza Navona*. The summer-house of the Farnese rose from the ruins of the Palatine. The marble threshold and broken columns from which Poggio had contemplated the vicissitudes of fortune*, were removed, and probably employed in the construction of the new Capitol of Michael Angelo. The marble of a temple on the Quirinal, was cut

* 'We seated ourselves amid the ruins of the Tarpeian citadel, behind the huge marble threshold of the gate of I suppose some temple, and with broken columns on all sides.'—The language of Poggio, as cited by Gibbon.

into the (124) steps which ascend to the church of *Ara-cœli*. Flaminius Vacca leads us to believe, that in his time, the latter half of the sixteenth century, it was usual for the sculptors to cut their statues from columns; and he narrates, that Cardinal Cesi fitted up a chapel in *Santa Maria della Pace* with statues and prophets worked from the pilasters found behind the Conservator's palace on the Tarpeian Rock, and believed to be a part of the Temple of Jupiter Stator. The great palace of the *Cancellaria* of Cardinal Riario had before robbed a part of the Coliseum, and levelled some remains of baths, or of an arch of the Emperor Gordian. The infinite quantity of precious marbles which adorns the churches of Rome, must have been chiefly extracted from the ancient relics; and, with the exception of those belonging to edifices *converted* to sacred purposes or to pontifical buildings, the greater part of the superb columns of these churches must have been removed from their ancient site. We are obliged to the designs of Raffael and Palladio for the appearance of some fabrics now destroyed; and those who peruse the topographers, from Blondus to Nardini, will assign to the latter half of the fifteenth century and the succeeding hundred and fifty years, a greater activity of destruction than to those immediately preceding ages in which we have no authentic writers to tell us what was left, or what was lost.*

* Donatus gives an account of remains of *Thermæ Olympiadis* and *Thermæ Novatianæ* on the Viminal Hill. The same Topographer saw something of the *Thermæ* of Agrippa, and also those of Nero or Alexander. Marlianus

'The embellishment of the rising city, vigorously pursued till the middle of the seventeenth century, was the first object of the Pontiffs: the preservation of the architectural remains, appears to have been a rare and secondary design. When that embellishment had ceased to be the passion of the Popes, the dilapidation may be supposed to have been discontinued. The last *recorded* destruction was that of the arch in the *Corso*, by Alexander VII. No other ancient fabric can, perhaps, be proved to have been purposely thrown down or defaced since that period. A fragment of the Coliseum, which was shaken to the ground in the earthquake of 1703, was laudably employed in constructing the stairs of the *Ripetta*.

'The frequent repairs of the Pantheon, those of the Antonine and Trajan columns, the erection of the obelisks, the restoration of the Cestian pyramid, and the late protection of the Flavian amphitheatre, with that of the arch of Constantine,

had seen the arch dedicated to Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius. The Circus called Flaminius, had very determinable vestiges when seen by Lætus, Fulvius, and Marlianus, but is talked of by Nardini as no longer in existence. The same writers had observed many more relics of the Theatre of Pompey, than could be traced in the next age, although they were so small, even before their time, as to be overlooked by Poggio. A huge fragment behind the Pantheon, called by some, *Templum Boni Eventus*, has disappeared since Nardini wrote. The remains of the *Minervium*, distinctly seen by Fulvius and Marlianus, and not altogether lost in the middle of the last century, are also consumed. The vaulted cell of a structure in the Vatican, called a temple of Apollo, or of Mars, and seen in the pictures of the Vatican library, has been incorporated or lost in the baptistery of St. Peter's.'

seem to compose the sum of all the merits of all the Popes, as far as respects the stable fabrics of antiquity. The taste and magnificence of the Popes must be sought, and will be found, in the museums of the Vatican and the Capitol. It was reserved for the conquerors who plundered those noble repositories, to recompense Rome for her losses, by clearing away the offal and dirt which had accumulated for ages round buried temples and under the windows of the senate-house, by cleansing the base and propping the porches of the Coliseum, by removing the soil in front of the Temple of Peace, by re-opening the Baths of Titus, and, finally, by excavating the Forum of Trajan,—a work of itself superior to all the meritorious exertions of Sixtus V. and Braschi. The impulse given by the late ephemeral Government, still continues the labours in the Forum, and the repairs of the Coliseum; and the attention of the Pontiffs being at last directed to the preservation of relics which have succeeded to the attraction once possessed by their spiritual treasures, it may be hoped that the ruins of Rome have no more to dread from outrage or neglect. The inundations of the Tiber have of late years been either less violent, or are more easily reduced, than in the days of ignorance and distress. With the exception of the cell of the temple now called *Minerva Medica*, which was thrown down in 1812, no earthquake has, since the beginning of the last century, materially injured the ancient fabrics. What remains of them so nearly resembles the earliest authentic account of the ruins,

that we may indulge a persuasion that they will still resist for ages the unassisted assaults of time.'*

At the close of this long exposition of the causes and agencies which have wrought the destruction of ancient Rome, the feeling of disappointment that so few vestiges of its magnificence remain, must give way to astonishment that any should be left. What must have been, one is ready to say, the pomp, and affluence, and luxury of the Mistress of the World, in her day of glory, that it has been found impossible, after the constant dilapidations of a thousand years, to annihilate all traces of her greatness!† A knowledge of these events is necessary, however, to prepare the stranger for the complete wreck of the ancient city, which he will have to explore. Rome, compared even with Athens, Dr. Burton remarks, (at least, with what Athens was before its recent desolation,) 'is like the collection of the Elgin Marbles, compared with the sculptures in the Vatican.' With regard to the former, 'some taste for antiquities and some

* Hobhouse's Hist. Illust., pp. 124—168.—By omitting the citations and references to authorities in support of his statements, which Mr. Hobhouse has carefully and diligently adduced, and by occasional abridgement, we have been able to give the whole of his erudite dissertation 'on the destroyers of the City,' from the tenth century, extending through nearly fifty pages.

† Petrarch, on his first visit to Rome, though cautioned not to expect too much, was struck mute '*miraculo rerum tantarum et stuporis mole obrutus.*'

'*Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ*
Reliquiæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas
Frangere non valuit, non vis aut ira cruenti
Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu! heu!'

Cited in Hobhouse, p. 144.

classical reminiscences are necessary before we can enjoy such mutilated fragments. And so it is with Rome... If we except the Pantheon, (and that has suffered dreadful mutilation on the outside,) the ancient remains have been so mutilated and destroyed, that even the name is in many cases doubtful. No small portion of classical recollection is necessary to supply the deficiency; and he who visits Rome, destitute of this, will form, probably, a low estimate of the interest excited by the antiquities... Perhaps, the best way to view the city, if we wish to preserve our admiration, is to take a hasty survey of all the antiquities, and then to pass on. A long residence there is certainly calculated to diminish the interest which they excited.'*

Of Imperial Rome, nothing was entire but the Pantheon, even in the days of Poggio (A.D. 1430). Of the monuments described by the learned Florentine, and of which some fragments still remain, the following catalogue comprises all that can be with any certainty identified:—The Coliseum; the Triumphal Arches of Titus, Severus, and Constantine (then almost entire); those of Drusus, of Dolabella and Silanus, and of Gallienus; the Baths of Diocletian, of Caracalla, and of Constantine; a part of those of Titus; the theatre of Marcellus; the few remains of that of Pompey; the two bridges of the Tiberine island; the Ælian bridge; the Mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian; the two historical columns; the inscribed obelisks; the

* Burton, vol. i. p. 17. 'It is not,' says the learned Writer, 'that I undervalue the antiquities myself, but I am anxious that others should not undervalue them.'

column of Phocas; the Septimian arch in the *Velabrum*; the *castellum* of the Claudian aqueduct; two or three of the city gates.* The other ruins and fragments are either anonymous, or the names given to them by antiquaries must be considered as arbitrary and questionable.

But of what consequence is it to be able to give a name to the pillars, walls, or foundations which baffle the learned labours of the antiquary and topographer? What difference does it make, whether they determine the remains of an Ionic portico to be that of the Temple of Concord or the Temple of Fortune? To enjoy the genuine pleasure derived from these speaking relics of antiquity, the visiter will do well to waive all these curious inquiries, which tend only to bewilder the imagination, and to fritter down every feeling of enthusiasm. Having acquired a general idea of the topography of the ancient city,—having satisfied himself (as he easily may) respecting the situation of the Forum and the localities of prominent historic interest, and identified the few unquestionable monuments of the Republic and the Empire,—he will do well to abstain from further inquiries, which leave no alternative between implicit acquiescence in the current nomenclature of the ruins and a total scepticism. Rarely would the name of the temple or the tomb, if ascertained, inspire any peculiar emotions. Few are the associations of moral grandeur connected with the history or monuments of Rome. The classical enthusiast turns with comparative disgust from the vestiges of the capital of the Cæsars, in search of the scanty memorials

* Hobhouse, p. 194.

of the free city. The only era that interests *his* imagination, is the golden age of historical romance. To the moralist, on the other hand, it is the fate of

'The great Queen of earth, Imperial Rome,'

that gives its chief interest to the scene. There have been ecclesiastical antiquaries who have seemed to think it 'of little importance that the Capitol was ever inhabited by any others than the monks of *Ara-cœli*, or that the court of Augustus preceded that of the Popes.'* Apart from all these, the connoisseur, who cares little about either Cæsar or Pontiff, finds in Rome an inexhaustible field; to him, however, the treasures of the Vatican far outshine all the historic glories of the seven hills. 'The works of the fine arts,' Dr. Burton remarks, 'are the only objects which it is impossible not to admire and be satisfied with.'

As a place of residence, Rome is neither gay nor cheerful; and its climate, delicious as it is in winter,† is both insufferably hot and unhealthy in summer. The surrounding country is a desert. What then

* The character of Eustace given by Mr. Hobhouse.

† The pure, transparent sky seems made, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, to give brilliancy to the magnificent prospect below. In many seasons, 'the atmosphere preserves an unsullied lustre and exhilarating warmth, from the rains of autumn to the tempests of the vernal equinox. What has been said and sung of the tepid winter of Italy, is not intelligible to the north of Rome.... Rome had fallen when Rutilius said of her climate,

"*Vere tuo nunquam mulceri desinit annus*
Deliciasque tuas victa tueter hyems."'

Hobhouse, pp. 48, 49.

renders this city so peculiarly attractive? Not, we apprehend, its antiquities, its architecture, its paintings, its scenery, or its historic associations,—not either of these separately considered, but the picturesque combination of the whole, together with the almost exhaustless variety of feature which solicits the attention and charms the imagination. Other cities may be far more beautiful, but Rome is perhaps the most richly picturesque city in the world. The hills, insignificant in themselves, seem made to display the buildings to the greatest advantage.* The architecture, both ancient and modern, is for the most part faulty in principle, often incongruous in its elements, impure in taste; but it has one redeeming characteristic,—it always combines well with the landscape, and, by its richness, variety, and grandeur, atones for the want of simplicity and of a chaster elegance. At Rome, the spectator is dazzled with the multiplicity of objects; and the decaying ruins are relieved by the modern magnificence. 'It is not,' remarks Mr. Woods, 'any one thing you see, any more than one point of history that you have to remember: multitudes of fragments are included in one view, not very perfect and distinct in their forms,

* 'The hills and country about Rome are well disposed for architecture, and for uniting its objects with those of the landscape. They are not high, and therefore the dreary waste of the Campagna is not obtrusive; while the broken foreground is richly adorned with evergreen and deciduous trees, and especially with the picturesque stone-pine. The flowing line of Monte Albano, and the bolder and more irregular form of the Apennines, unite to form an inexhaustible fund of variety and interest.'—Woods, vol. i. p. 329.

yet, sufficient to excite the imagination. They crowd on the eye, as the scenes of history on the memory.'*

In spite of all he may have seen elsewhere, and of all the views and drawings that may have familiarised to his eye particular buildings, Rome is still 'a new world to an architect.' 'The paradise of artists, it is full of their objects and recollections.' With much that may disappoint or disgust, it can scarcely pall or weary; and thus, whatever be the nature of the first impressions which the city awakens, few places seem to have an equal power of fascinating the traveller, and of detaining him a willing resident till his feelings settle into a sort of local attachment.

* Woods, vol. i. p. 327.

CHAPTER IV.

ROME.

The Palatine Mount—The Coliseum—Baths of Titus—Monte Cavallo—Baths of Diocletian—Baths of Caracalla—Aventine Mount—St. Paul's—St. John Lateran—Santa Croce—Great St. Mary's—S. Lorenzo—St. Sebastian—Circus of Caracalla—Tomb of Cecilia Metella.

Dr. Burton, in his description of Rome, divides its curiosities into three classes; the antiquities, the churches, and the palaces. This is, perhaps, the best mode of treating them in a dissertation, but they can hardly be thus separated in the actual survey. Vasi, on the other hand, in his eight topographical divisions of the city, crowds and jumbles together works of all ages, sights of all descriptions, objects of the highest interest and the lowest insignificance, just as they happen to lie in contiguity to each other. His plan points out the only way in which a stranger can arrive at the personal knowledge of how much is not worth seeing, or in which he can see Rome at all in eight days;* but it is not the mode in which either a description or a sight of the city can be

* 'The guide-books,' says Mr. Woods, 'profess to conduct you regularly and systematically through Rome in eight days; and some of our countrymen boast, that they have beaten the antiquaries, and done it in six.'

satisfactory. We shall endeavour to adopt a middle course between the chronological and the topographical; and having already taken a general view of the ancient city, we shall now proceed to describe more particularly its present appearance, and the objects of greatest interest. We commence with the Imperial Mount,—

> 'Long while the seat of Rome, hereafter found
> Less than enough (so monstrous was the brood
> Engendered there, so Titan-like) to lodge
> One in his madness.' ROGERS.

'Mount Palatine,'* says Mr. Simond, 'now presents only shapeless masses of a sort of artificial pudding-stone; for the Romans, to save time, often left an interval between the two facings of a wall, which they filled up with promiscuous fragments of brick and stone bedded in mortar; and those facings of marble having long since been carried away, the filling in is generally all that remains standing of the old materials. A range of lofty arches, still accessible to the top, and affording an airy, but perhaps an unsafe walk, overlooks, on one side, a wide extent of fantastic ruins, and on the other, the area of what once was the *Circus Maximus;* where Olympic charioteers no more urge their panting steeds round the goal, but where cabbages and artichokes flourish remarkably well.

* It is generally supposed that this Mount gave the name of *Palatium* to the residence of the sovereigns of Rome, whence the word has passed into all European languages, as a common appellative for a princely mansion; but the etymology of the original name of the hill is lost in uncertainty. As the anniversary of the foundation of Rome was

'It were difficult to trace any plan among the chaos of ruins over Mount Palatine. Here, as well as everywhere else, the Romans seem not to have paid the smallest attention to symmetry in the relative positions of their finest edifices, often placing them much too close together, so as to form awkward angles, or leaving irregular intervals between them. An immense hall, 138 feet by 91, and called a library, which, so late as the year 1720, had remained hidden under a vast accumulation of rubbish, is at present, owing to that very circumstance, in a state of good preservation. When discovered, it still had marble statues, and was otherwise richly decorated; but the colossal statue of Apollo, mentioned by Pliny, made of brass, and 50 feet high, which is supposed to have stood there, was not found. Near this magnificent hall was a portico half a mile in length, and a vestibule with the brass statue of Nero, nearly three times as high as the neighbouring statue of Apollo; it was visible from Albano, twelve miles distant. Rare marbles, ivory, gold, and even diamonds, dazzled the eyes of beholders. Fountains of perfume flowed in the banqueting-halls; and every sort of luxury had been lavished on all sides. "I am going to be lodged like a man," said Nero, when he saw it finished.

'We descended many steps under ground into some rooms, accidentally discovered when part of

celebrated on the day of the feast of Pales, the goddess of shepherds, it might have some reference to the name of the patron deity. It deserves remark, however, that *palach* in Slavonic, and *pailium* in Gaelic, signify a tent or hut; and such, perhaps, was the cottage of Romulus.

the arched ceiling gave way in the year 1777; they belonged to a first floor; and their present depth under the modern level of the soil, shews the great accumulation which has taken place. Endless suites of apartments adjoining these, may still hide the richest treasures of Grecian art under the earth and rubbish which fill them. The accessible parts have of course been stripped of all that was worth carrying away, but the walls and ceilings are still covered with small fresco paintings, arabesques, and other trifling ornaments, neatly executed, and some of them gilt. Over the ruins of Nero's palace,* lie those of the palace of a Pope (Alexander Farnese), which, although comparatively modern, its date being fifteen hundred years later, is nearly as far gone in decay. Michael Angelo, who despoiled as many treasures of art as he bequeathed to posterity, erected the ephemeral structure with the materials of others far superior. The palaces of the Roman emperors on Mount Palatine, suffered much from the sacking of Rome by the Vandals, and at the time of Totila's invasion; yet, they remained standing so late as the eighth century.† Now, their very ruins are disappearing under the luxuriant vegetation of evergreen oaks, laurels, and aloes; and this residence of the masters of the world, whence, as from a common centre, activity was communicated to the

* Rather, that of Commodus, in whose reign Nero's palace was burned and rebuilt. Burton, vol. i. p. 106. Cramer, vol. i. p. 449.

† Part only of the palace seems to have been then standing, according to Anastasius.

most distant parts of the empire, seems at present the very abode of idleness. An old gardener watching his poultry, which, he said, were all carried away by foxes, (within the walls of Rome!) and a few beggarly-looking men employed in making ropes under the shelter of an old wall, were the only human creatures not asleep that we saw during a ramble of several hours. The Arcadian Academy, one of the literary societies of Rome, formerly held their meetings here, under a grove of ever-green oaks still flourishing; but these Arcadians, also, have long since deserted the desert; and some fragments of Corinthian capitals, marble pedestals, and highly wrought friezes, which served them as tables and chairs a hundred years ago, now lie in classical disorder on a level spot of green turf browsed short by a few goats.'*

The Palatine hill, which is said to be a full mile in circuit, was never entirely covered with buildings. Space must be left, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, for gardens, a *manège*, and a hippodrome. Of the latter, there are evident traces in one of the gardens. On the height of the southern extremity of the Farnese gardens, beneath a grove of aged ilex, lie the broken columns and blocks of sculptured marble above referred to, which are supposed to have belonged to the magnificent temple of Apollo, built by Augustus after the battle of Actium. 'The naval trophies, the dolphins, and the hippogriff which are seen sculptured on the marble, might seem to place its identity beyond dispute;

* Simond, pp. 178—181.

but with antiquaries nothing is indisputable, and some of them call it, in the very teeth of the hippogriff, the temple of Neptune.'*

A contiguous part of the Palatine is occupied with the kitchen-gardens and vineyards of the Casino Spada, or Magnani, which the pretended frescoes of Raphael have not preserved from ruin. 'Half a century ago,' says Mr. Hobhouse, 'a tower looking over the site of the *Circus Maximus*, and which made part of the Cæsarean palace, was restored. But the curse of Jerusalem hangs over this hill: it is again in ruins. In this quarter (the south side of the hill) is the suite of subterranean chambers usually denominated the Baths of Nero; for this Emperor, being a great builder, is generally called in to father all unknown remains. An Englishman excavated these chambers in 1777; and the ground of the villa is now at the disposal of any one who chooses to pay a very moderate sum for so imperial a purchase and the pleasure of experiments. The next garden and vineyard (for so the Palatine is now divided) are in possession of the Irish College; and some rustic or playful antiquaries had, in 1817, chalked upon the gateway, "The Hippodrome, the Temple of Apollo, the House of the Vestals." The shape of

* Rome in the Nineteenth Century, vol. i. p. 222. Propertius mentions, that the tympanum of the temple of Apollo was adorned with a bas-relief, representing the battle of the Amazons; and on a fragment of the marble, this writer 'saw the figure of an Amazon combating with an Athenian.' Mr. Hobhouse treats these fragments with little respect; observing that, 'of this temple, an early topographer thought he saw some vestiges overlooking the *Circus Maximus* on the other side of the hill.'—Hobhouse, p. 210.

the vineyard does resemble a place for equestrian exercises. Apollo and the Vestals may be lodged at will in any of the towering vaults or underground crypts of these enormous masses. You may explore for hours either above or below, through the arched corridors or on the platforms whose stuccoed floorings have resisted a thousand winters, and serve as a roof to the ruins.

'From the corner of this platform, there is one of the most impressive views of the Coliseum and the remains of the old city, both within and without the walls. The long lines of aqueducts stretched across the bare *Campagna*, are the arms of the fallen giant. Your walks in the Palatine ruins, if it be one of the many days when the labourers do not work, will be undisturbed, unless you startle a fox in breaking through the brambles in the corridors, or burst unawares, through the hole of some shattered fragment, into one of the half-buried chambers which the peasants have blocked up to serve as stalls for their asses, or as huts for those who watch the gardens. The smoke of their wood-fires has not hidden the stuccoes and deeply indented mouldings of the imperial roofs. The soil accumulated in this quarter, has formed a slope on the side of the ruins; and some steps have been adjusted into the bank. Half way up, an open oratory has been niched into a wall.

'Religion is still triumphant after the fall of the palace of the Cæsars, the towers of feudal lords, and the villas of papal princes. The church and contiguous monastery of S. Bonaventura, preserve a spark of life upon the site of the town of

Romulus. The only lane which crosses the Palatine, leads to this church, between dead walls.* The tall fragments of the Imperial ruins, rising from a hill which seems one wide field of crossed and trellised reeds hung round with vines, form the most striking portion of the prospect of the old town, seen from the platform of *S. Pietro in Montorio*, or the other eminences beyond the Tiber. They are so thickly strewn and so massive, that it is not surprising the inhabitants of the rising town chose to seek for other sites, rather than to attempt to clear them away. But they are not without their use, for the flagging vapours of the *malaria* are supposed to settle round their summits, as well as those of the Coliseum, and thus to spare the modern city. Where all repair has been hopeless, the descendants of those who reared these mighty fabrics, have converted the desolation of the ancient city to the purposes of other havoc. They scrape the old walls of the Palatine, as well as those of the Baths of Titus, for saltpetre, of which a manufacture has been established in both those positions ; and thus, if the phrase may be used, ruin begets ruin, destruction propagates destruction.'†

A very interesting prospect of Rome is obtained from the Farnese gardens. Immediately below is the *Campo Vaccino*, the site of the Forum. In the middle distance on the left, the first object that presents itself, is the church and convent of *Ara-cœli*, on the northern side of the Capitoline.

* It is a *Via Crucis*, lined with representations of Christs' fourteen stages beneath the Cross.

† Hobhouse, pp. 209—214.

Below this is seen part of the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus; and close to it, the cupola and part of the façade of the church of S. Martin, belonging to the Academy of Roman painters. The next edifice that strikes the eye, is the little church of S. Adrian, built on the foundations of an ancient temple. Between these appear the columns of Trajan and Aurelius. Further to the right is the church of *S. Lorenzo in Miranda*, fronted with the remains of the portico of the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. Near this is the church of *SS. Cosmo e Damiano*, successors to Romulus and Remus, the Castor and Pollux of the Romish hagiology. Above this rises the brick tower vulgarly called the Tower of Nero, whence it is pretended that the Imperial incendiary beheld the conflagration of the city: it is, however, a remnant of the times of feudal disorder.

Immediately beneath the Palatine Mount, is seen what has been termed 'the most wonderful monument remaining of Roman magnificence,'—the Flavian amphitheatre, or, as its ruins are generally called, the Coliseum;* built, as Suetonius informs us, on ground which had formerly been occupied by some lakes or pools belonging to the gardens of Nero's golden palace, and which were

* A corruption of Colosseum; so called, the Roman antiquaries tell us, from the immense size of the edifice, and not (as Pomponius Lætus states, and Nardini maintains) from the colossal statue of Nero placed there by Hadrian, and dedicated to the sun. Indeed, the name cannot be traced higher than the middle ages; and the same name is given to the amphitheatre of Capua.—See Cramer, vol. i. q. 374. Burton, vol. ii. p. 40.

used for naval fights and exhibitions.* This immense edifice was commenced by Vespasian (A.D. 72), and was finished by his son Titus, who caused five thousand wild beasts to be killed at the dedication of it, and exhibited games for nearly a hundred days. There is a tradition, that 12,000 captive Jews† were employed in the construction of this amphitheatre. According to Josephus, however, Titus brought only 700 Jews to Rome, to grace his triumph; and the legend in question rests upon no authority. The time that it occupied in building, is variously stated; but, from a medal struck on the occasion, we learn that it was dedicated and opened by Titus in the eighth year of his consulship, A.D. 80.‡ Having suffered by fire in the reign of Antoninus Pius, it was repaired by that emperor, and again, after a similar misfortune, by Alexander Severus. Its subsequent history has been detailed in the review of the causes of the destruction of the ancient monuments. Nearly two-thirds of the stone which composed it, are actually gone.

The amphitheatre is, as usual, elliptical. The exterior wall consisted of three tiers of open arches, with half-pillars between the arches; Doric on the basement, Ionic and Corinthian successively above. Still higher was a fourth row of pilasters,

* '*Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis amphitheatri*
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.'
Mart. de Spect. 2.

† Evelyn was told, 30,000 Jewish captives.

‡ On the reverse of this coin is a representation of the amphitheatre, with the legend: 'IMP. CÆSAR. VESPASIAN. AUG. Cos. VIII. P. P.'—Burton, vol. ii. p. 40.

with forty square windows, but without arches. The capitals of these pilasters were also Corinthian, although Maffei was led to suppose, from the ornaments in the frieze, that this fourth row was Composite. Within this outer wall were two concentric ones, which did not rise so high; forming altogether a double arcade running round the vast area, communicating with each other, and lighted from the outside. The building was elevated two steps above the level of the soil. Eighty arches, resting upon this base, opened into the outer portico. 'Four of these arches, at the ends of the long and of the short axes of the ellipses, gave entrance into the arena to the larger animals, elephants and others. Each of the arches bore a number (still visible) under the architrave, for the guidance of the spectators, who looked for the corresponding number to that on their ticket (*tessera*), and thus found the stairs of the particular section of the amphitheatre where they were entitled to a seat. These tickets, made of brass, of ivory, and sometimes of lead, are seen in many collections of antiquities. Behind the first circular row of arches, there were three rows more, one within the other, spreading over a space equal to five acres, all under cover, whither the world of spectators in the amphitheatre might retire in bad weather, and move at ease without crowd or confusion; the more so, as each story afforded a repetition of these open porticoes, only one less at each successive story. Twenty great staircases, with two flights to each, and thirty-two small ones of one flight, led from the ground floor to the first story, composed of three circular porticoes, as

already mentioned, and to the lower tier of vomitories, or entrances to the amphitheatre. Some of these fifty-two staircases led to the terrace immediately surrounding the arena, called the *Podium*. It was faced and paved with marble, 13 feet high, and 14 feet wide. There, the Emperor had his seat, somewhat raised above the others; the Senators occupied their curule chairs brought by slaves, and the Vestals also had their appropriate places;—the Vestals at the amphitheatre! Further was seen the crowd of foreign kings and ambassadors, humble suitors at Rome. Besides his place of *etiquette*, the Emperor had his private apartment (*pulvinarium*) and gallery underneath, to which he might retire, and enjoy the show unseen. Some of the ornaments of this *pulvinarium* are still visible. All the stairs, even those for imperial use, although built of marble, were strangely inconvenient and unsafe,—mere *break-necks*,—nine inches high and twelve broad; and moreover on a slope, that the rain water penetrating through the vomitories, might run off through various covered drains along the walls, into a waste *cloaca* underneath. Notwithstanding the height of the *podium* (13 feet above the arena), it did not prove sufficiently out of reach of lions and tigers in their desperate leaps; and to prevent the unceremonious intrusion of such monsters among emperors and kings, senators and vestals, various expedients were resorted to; such as sloping points of iron, rollers, and gold-netting, adapted to the parapet-wall or balustrade of the *podium*.

'The arena, which, like the edifice itself, is of

an elliptical form, and contains about an acre of ground, is neatly gravelled over. An altar and a cross stand in the middle, with smaller altars all round the circumference; forming an odd contrast with the rest of the edifice, and with the ideas which it recalls. The purpose was simply to protect from further dilapidation the remains of the Coliseum, as standing on consecrated ground; thus cheating the vulgar into a sort of regard for a pagan monument.* As we stood in the arena, all round us rose the stupendous ruin, once a throne for the Roman people, where they sat in their pride, enjoying sports of such bloody magnificence as the modern world can scarcely believe or understand. This vast assemblage of people was not left altogether exposed to the caprices of the weather; for, besides the immense corridors or porticoes affording ample shelter in case of heavy rain, an awning was spread over their heads, by means of ropes stretching from side to side, and intersecting each other at the centre. Triangular pieces of canvass were drawn up and down along the ropes, with great care and quickness, over the spectators, but not over the arena, which remained uncovered.†

* There are fourteen *stations* placed round the arena; and an inscription testifies to its having been purified from the pagan superstitions by the blood of the martyrs who suffered here. The cross in the centre holds out for every kiss an indulgence of 200 days!—Burton, vol. ii. p. 46.

† See, for some learned notices respecting these moveable *velaria*, Burton, vol. ii. pp. 49, 50. Caligula is stated to have amused himself with ordering these awnings to be drawn back when the sun was excessively scorching, and hindering any person from going out. 'There are some

'Behind the imperial terrace, now reduced to half or one-third of its original height, rose the first and second series of seats, called *meniana*, composed of forty-four successive rows of marble seats, holding all together 25,000 spectators. Further and higher rose a third *menianum*, with nine rows of seats occupied by women; and above that again, an open portico crowning the gradual ascent. A number of beautiful columns belonging to this portico, and found in digging out the rubbish of the arena, into which they had fallen from their elevated situation, (157 feet,) leave no doubts as to the magnificence of this termination. It, probably, was at first intended to be merely ornamental, but was afterwards fitted up with eleven rows of wooden seats, forming a fourth *menianum* for the use of those who were not entitled to seats elsewhere; that is, for the lowest class of people. This wooden construction, having been destroyed by fire several times, was afterwards replaced with brick, of which some remains are now seen. Altogether, there might be room for 44,000 spectators; a computation far below the common opinion, which swells the number to 80,000;—but antiquaries scorn mathematical precision, and easily give way to a little dramatic exaggeration.* None of the marble seats remain

projecting stones at the top of the Coliseum which probably were connected with this contrivance. And in the upper story on the outside, there is a series of corbels all round the building, three between each pilaster. There are grooves in them, and directly over them are depressions in the cornice, apparently to admit upright poles which supported the awning.'

* 'According to P. Victor, 87,000 persons could be

in their places, and but few have been dug out of the arena. One which I saw, was of white marble, wedge-shaped, shewing the depth of the seats to have been three feet, and the height fifteen inches. The word *Quirit.* (*Quirites*), neatly cut in front, marked it to have belonged to the second *menianum*, where Roman knights had their places.* The covering of marble seats once removed, rain water penetrated into the mass of brick walls and arches underneath, and winter frosts widened the rents which repeated earthquakes had begun. Yet, the disfigured ruin stood; and during the anarchy of the middle ages, the Coliseum became a fortress,—was besieged, and often taken and retaken. Since that period, it has once been a hospital; † afterwards a manufactory; ‡ and when the French undertook to clear away the accumulated rubbish of centuries, they found an enormous quantity of horse-dung, collected long since for the purpose of making saltpetre.

'The labours of the French led to the discovery

accommodated in the seats; and it seems probable, that 20.000 more could have found places above. It should be mentioned, however, that Maffei found room on the open seats for no more than 34,000.'—Burton, vol. ii. p. 51.

* The row of seats nearest to the *podium* (balustrade) which surmounted the wall of the arena, was occupied by the consuls, prætors, senators, and *vestal virgins*. Fourteen rows above these were allotted to the knights. The wall of the arena is still nearly entire: with the *podium*, it is supposed to have been between 10 and 15 feet in height. Burton, vol. ii. p. 54.

† By the brethren of the *Sancta Sanctorum* Company, at the end of the fourteenth century.

‡ In the sixteenth century, Sixtus V. attempted to establish a woollen-manufactory here, but the project failed.

of partition-walls in the arena, dividing it, in the direction of its length, into passages about 12 feet wide. Various conjectures have been formed about the use of these passages, which were probably covered with a wooden floor over the whole extent of the arena. They might be intended to introduce wild beasts into different parts of that space, by means of trap-doors and of corresponding inclined planes, traces of which were still visible. There were indications of 82 such openings. The style of workmanship of these walls, shews them to have been of more recent construction than the Amphitheatre itself; and they certainly were incompatible with the conversion of the arena into a *naumachia*, to which it had once been subjected. Water for the purpose of naval games was brought from Tivoli, and even from a greater distance, by an aqueduct, which, with its various windings, was forty-four miles long; first, to the Baths of Titus, very near the Amphitheatre; then to the Amphitheatre itself, into which it poured its deluge through eighty large apertures, filling it to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet. It certainly seems strange that such gigantic means should have been employed for so paltry an end as occasionally to float a navy of cock-boats on one acre of ocean, and to see them fight their puny battles; but the whim cannot have been of long duration; for a subterranean passage has been lately discovered, leading from the Amphitheatre towards the palaces of the Emperors on Mount Palatine, which could not have existed with the *naumachia*, as it would have been under water. In this very passage, an attempt was made to assassinate Com-

modus; and that Emperor reigned little more than a hundred years after the building of the Amphitheatre: therefore, the use of it as a *naumachia* had ceased within that period.

'The depth required for the admission of water being no longer wanted, and that depth hiding half the arena from a great many of the spectators, it became advisable to raise its level; and probably a wooden floor was preferred to the experiment of filling it up with earth; the more so, as it afforded the means of suddenly and picturesquely introducing new performers on the bloody scene, in the way before mentioned.'*

It has been objected, however, that this supposed 'private passage of the Emperors' leads from the southern side of the Coliseum in a southward direction; whereas the Imperial palace was to the north-west. The earth and rubbish with which it was filled, have been cleared out but a little way, so that its outlet has not been ascertained; but, as it appears to lead towards the dens of the wild beasts, the fair Author of 'Rome in the Nineteenth Century,' suggests, that it was more probably made for their accommodation. 'Some of these dens are still to be seen, below the convent of St. John and St. Paul, on the Cœlian Mount, in a building called by the absurd name of the *Curia Hostilia;* but (for a miracle) all the antiquaries seem agreed that it was a *Vivarium* for keeping the beasts before their exhibition in the Coliseum. I saw one of the iron rings to which they had been fastened. The building is

* Simond. pp. 167—176.

manifestly of the same date, and of the same materials as the Coliseum, which it resembles so exactly, that one might suppose a portion of the arcades had been conveyed up the hill. It is supposed to have been built bv Domitian. The grand *Vivarium* was near the *Porta Maggiore;* but its distance would render another necessary near the Coliseum.'* The conjecture is plausible enough. But, on the other hand, it may be questioned whether the ' stuccoed ceiling and mosaic pavement' of this vaulted passage, low and dark as it is said to be, do not sufficiently disprove its having been intended for the mere accommodation of the quadrupeds. The roof of the passage being exactly below the level of the present surface of the arena, it is not improbable, that the latter has been raised the exact height of the passage. After all, the passage may have been accommodated to purposes very different from its primary object; and if it be fact, as stated by Fulvius, that the site of the Coliseum was drained of its waters by means of *cloacæ*, on which a great part of the structure is even said to rest,† we may suppose that this was one, which, after the ground had been completely drained, was applied to other uses. So long as it was occasionally used as a *naumachia*, there must have been *cloacæ* to carry off the water, as well as an aqueduct to fill it.

The holes which disfigure the exterior of the Coliseum, in the part that remains entire, have also

* Rome, &c., vol. ii. p. 73.

† Burton, vol. ii. p. 56.—The beasts are said to have been conveyed to the arena in cages mounted on wheels.

excited much speculation. The common opinion is, that the stones were connected by solid cramps of brass or iron, and that these holes have been made in order to get at the metal. But in no part of the wall that has been laid open, is there any appearance of such cramps, or of the holes that they must have made.* Another explanation, assigned by Donatus, and mentioned by Gibbon, is, that they were made to receive the poles that supported the booths of the artisans who crowded these corridors during the fairs that were held there. Montfaucon ascribes them to the rapine of the Barbarians; and a learned bishop has composed a separate dissertation on the seven or eight probable causes of these holes, which are found in all parts of the structure. We must be content to leave them to the doubts and endless speculations of the antiquaries.†

Mr. Forsyth, in his criticism on this amphitheatre, remarks, that 'Vespasian and Titus, as if presaging their own deaths, hurried the building, and left behind several marks of their precipitancy. In the upper wall, they have inserted stones which had evidently been dressed for a different purpose. Some of the arcades are grossly unequal. No moulding preserves the same level and form round

* Mr. Simond, after giving his opinion, that these holes were made for the purpose of getting at 'the iron or brass cramps secured with lead, which the Romans were in the habit of placing between the joints and the stones,'—adds, that 'one of these iron cramps lately found, had 20lb. of lead about it.' We wish that he had given his authority for this statement. One of the holes that he examined, was found to end in a cavity *larger* than the exterior opening.

† Burton, vol ii. p. 42. Hobhouse, pp. 266, 7.

the whole ellipse, and every order is full of license. The Doric has no *triglyphs* nor *metopes*, and its arch is too low for the columns; the Ionic repeats the entablature of the Doric; the third order is but a rough cast of the Corinthian, and its foliage the thickest water-plants; the fourth seems a mere repetition of the third, in pilasters; and the whole is crowned with a heavy attic.'* In fact, the Coliseum owes its architectural effect to the grandeur of the whole, rather than to the perfection of the parts: its immensity, it has been said, awes us into admiration.' 'To the painter, in its present state of ruin,' Mr. Woods remarks, 'it offers many picturesque combinations and admirable studies; the antiquary may delight in tracing the various parts, and imagining their uses; but to the architect, it does not say much. As a whole, it is a mere mass, with little merit of design or execution. None of the orders are good, and the mouldings are indifferently drawn, and worse executed, as might be expected from the manner in which it was raised.'†

'As it now stands, the Coliseum,' again to cite Mr. Forsyth, 'is a striking image of Rome itself,—decayed, vacant, serious, yet grand;—half grey and half green; erect on one side, and fallen on the other; with consecrated ground in its bosom; inhabited by a beadsman; visited by every cast; for moralists, antiquaries, painters, architects, devotees, all meet here, to meditate, to examine, to draw, to measure, and to pray.' The botanist, too, has found employment amid these ruins. There are paths worn over the green, sloping sides of the

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 174. † Woods, vol. i. p. 340.

Amphitheatre to the very summit, as over the sides of a hill, which are perfumed with wall-flowers and other fragrant plants that have rooted themselves in the ancient walls. A quarto volume has been published by Sebastiani, professor of Botany at Rome, under the title of *Flora Colisea*, in which no fewer than 260 different species are enumerated. But this, we are told, does not by any means comprise the whole. Including the various mosses and lichens, they amount to upwards of 300 species. Nearly one fourth of these are papilionaceous; there are three species of hyacinth,—one very beautiful and peculiar to the vicinity of Rome; the remainder of the plants are chiefly such as are found on old walls in the South of Europe.*

It is the fashion, it seems, to visit the Coliseum by moonlight, (as it is to see the Vatican by torch-light,) and the effect is described by Mr. Simond as very striking. 'The light played with more than usual vagueness, softness, and harmony among the cavernous masses which rose in fantastic greatness on all sides of us; and such was the general appearance of the whole, that we might have fancied ourselves in the crater of an extinguished volcano, rather than in any thing reared by the hand of man,—mere brick and mortar. The remaining patches of finery and all formal details had vanished: the grand ideal only remained, without colour, and almost without shape. The Coliseum, at night, would be a cut-throat place, but for the guard which turns out for the protection of visiters after sunset; and the soldiers, expecting their little perquisite, are very alert. There are sentinels

* Rome, &c. vol. i. p. 134.

besides in several places among the ruins, by whom you are challenged; and the *chi viva!* the gleaming of steel, the very clatter of iron-shod boots on the ancient pavement, served as picturesque touches to the scene.'*

By means of broken staircases, it is practicable to climb up to a considerable height; and it is from such a position, that the best idea may be formed of the vastness of these remains. Viewed by moonlight, when the shattered fragments of stone, and the shrubs growing upon them, are seen at a distance in alternations of light and shade, the impressions produced by these stupendous ruins, are such as, perhaps, no other scene could waken.

But, with those indefinite impressions of awe, admiration, and pleasing melancholy, surely there must mingle a feeling of satisfaction that it *is* a ruin, and that the gigantic power that raised it has passed away. 'Here,' to adopt the forcible language of Mr. Forsyth, 'sat the conquerors of the world, coolly to enjoy the tortures and death of men who had never offended them.† Two aque-

* Simond, p. 177. Although the assaults of robbers are no longer to be feared, yet, in exploring the Coliseum at night, it is absolutely necessary for a party to keep together, as an individual might lose himself in the different windings of the labyrinth of ruins.

† On some occasions, prisoners were thrown in among the wild beasts, merely to be devoured. 'Such was the fate of St. Ignatius, who was brought from Antioch in the reign of Trajan, on purpose to be eaten by wild beasts in the Coliseum. The work seems to have been completed in a few minutes, and only the larger and harder bones remained. The Amphitheatre was unusually full at the time.'—Burton, vol. ii. p. 53. See also, for remarks on these exhibitions, *ib.* pp. 15—21 'There seems no sufficient reason,' the learned

ducts were scarcely sufficient to wash off the human blood which a few hours' sport shed in these imperial shambles. Twice in one day came the senators and matrons of Rome to the butchery. A virgin always gave the signal for slaughter; and, when glutted with bloodshed, those ladies sat down in the wet and streaming *arena* to a luxurious supper.'* During the space of nearly

Author remarks, 'why we should not interpret the expression of St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 32.) literally, and suppose that he had actually been made to *fight with beasts* in the Theatre at Ephesus.' His words in another place (2 Cor. i. 8.) may possibly allude to this combat; as well as what he says in 2 Tim. iv. 17, of being *delivered from the mouth of the lion*, although it is generally interpreted metaphorically.

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 176. Ten thousand gladiators are said to have fought in Rome alone, during the celebration of Trajan's triumph over the Dacians; and the emperor Gordian, before his elevation, is said to have presented five hundred pairs of purchased gladiators to the public games. When a gladiator was only wounded, he lowered his sword in token of submission, and his doom then depended on the will of the spectators, who pressed down their thumbs if they chose to save him, but held them up if it was their pleasure that he should be slain. This inhuman signal was very commonly given; and Juvenal alludes to it in his third Satire:—

'Where, influenced by the rabble's bloody will,
With thumbs bent back they popularly kill.'

The Christian apologists, Gibbon remarks, did not spare these 'bloody games, which were introduced into the religious festivals of Paganism.' Lactantius eloquently inveighed against them, but in vain. In Cicero, they had found a defender, although he faintly censured their abuse. The tournaments of chivalry have been compared with the gladiatorial games; but the bull-fights of Spain approach much more nearly to them in barbarity, as well as in the madness of the national passion for the spectacle.—See Gibbon, ch. 30. 'Sketches of the Romans,' p. 236.

seven centuries, were these fiend-like sports suffered to corrupt and brutalize the manners of the people; and in the polished capital of the civilized world, multitudes of human beings were sacrificed to a savage depravity of taste which has no parallel in either ancient or modern times, unless it be in the scarcely more barbarous customs of Ashantee and Dahomey. 'The first Christian emperor,' says Gibbon, 'may claim the honour of the first edict which condemned the art and amusement of shedding human blood; but this benevolent law expressed the wishes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuse, which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of savage cannibals.' Neither the mandate of the Emperor, nor the establishment of Christianity, could entirely suppress them, till a few years before Rome was taken by the Goths. Honorius abolished for ever these human sacrifices. Nine hundred years after, the Coliseum was, for the last time, appropriated to the celebration of public games; but on that occasion, a bull-feast, after the fashion of the Moors and Spaniards, was substituted for the scarcely more sanguinary combats of the gladiators. 'A convenient order of benches was restored; and a general proclamation as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exercise their skill and courage in this perilous adventure. The combats were dangerous and bloody. Every champion successively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be ascribed to the quadrupeds, since no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loss of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the side of their adversaries. Some of the noblest families might mourn; but the pomp of the funerals in the churches of St.

John Lateran and *Sta. Maria Maggiore* afforded a second holiday to the people!'* Such, in every age of their history, have been the manners of the Romans!

Different statements have been given of the dimensions of this amphitheatre. Dr. Burton adopts that which makes its whole length 619 feet, its width 513, and its circumference 1741 feet. The height of the outer wall, now that the soil has been cleared away, which had risen twelve or thirteen feet, is stated at 179 feet. To shew how greatly it exceeded all others in size, he has given the following tabular comparison.†

	Length.	Width.	Length of Arena.	Width of Arena.	Number of Persons.
Coliseum	619	513	300	190	107,000?
Capua	—	—	250	150	—
Verona	464	367	233	136	23,484
Nismes	438	343	—	—	17,000
Pompeii	—	—	174	96	—
Pola	436	346	426	335	—
Pæstum	—	—	160	98	—

The ruins nearest to the Coliseum, and in some degree connected with it, (the same aqueduct supplying both with water,) are those of the *Thermæ* (hot-baths) of Titus,‡ which, as well as the palace

* Gibbon, c. 71.

† Burton, vol. ii. p. 52.—Mr. Cadell makes the measurements, on the authority of Desgodetz, 1702 feet in the external circumference; the long axis, 612 feet; the short axis, 507 feet; the height of the external wall, 163 feet. —Cadell, vol. i. p. 334.

‡ 'This name by no means answers to the immensity of the building which once covered great part of the Esquiline Hill, and should more properly be styled the palace of Titus. This is, in fact, the name which Pliny gives to it—*Titi Im-*

of that Emperor, were built on the site and with the ruins of part of the golden palace of Nero, and the house of Mecænas. They extend from the base of the Esquiline Hill, near the Coliseum, to one of its summits at the church of *SS. Martino e Silvestro*, and to another at *S. Pietro in Vincolis*. A number of rooms belonging to these Baths, buried beneath the ruins of upper stories, were discovered in the pontificate of Leo, when Raffael studied their fresco ornaments, and imitated the style in painting the coved ceilings of the Vatican. In order to prevent these rooms from becoming the hiding-places of banditti, the rubbish dug out was afterwards thrown in again, through apertures made for the purpose in the upper part of the arches, and still existing. After the lapse of nearly three centuries, an attempt was made, in 1777, again to clear away the ruins. But the chief merit of the excavation belongs to the French, who carried on the work with great spirit, till they arrived at the lower floor. There are now above thirty rooms perfectly accessible, besides a vast number of 'passages that lead to nothing,' respecting the use of which no probable conjecture has been formed.*

'We passed,' says our female Cicerone, 'the mouths of nine long corridors, converging together

peratoris domus. Suetonius tells us, that the building was finished in haste; and there are reasons for supposing that Trajan built some additions.'—Burton, vol. i. p. 303.

* The Roman antiquaries pretend to determine that this palace had been abandoned some time before it was thus buried, and that parts of it had been divided into small habitations for the poorer class.

like the *radii* of the segment of a circle, divided from each other by dead walls, covered at the top, and closed at the end. They must always have been dark. They are *supposed* to have been entrances to the baths, and they are *supposed* to have served as substructions to the theatre above, which is *supposed* to have formed a part of the upper story, of which not a trace remains; and the whole of these suppositions have their source in the inflammable imaginations of Roman antiquaries. Nothing is certain about them, excepting that they are not worth looking at. In one of them are piled up pieces of broken *amphoræ*, marbles of various kinds, and other heterogeneous fragments found in the excavations by the French, among which were some pots of colours. They were analysed, but nothing new was discovered.

'Having passed these corridors, we entered the portal of what is called the House of Mecænas. It is known that the house and gardens of Mecænas stood in this part of the Esquiline Hill, which, before it was given him by Augustus, was the charnel-ground of the common people. The conflagration in Nero's reign did not reach to them; and it is believed, that a part of them was taken by Nero into his buildings, and by Titus into his baths. Antiquaries think, they can trace a difference in the brick-work and style of building, between what they consider as the erection of Augustus's and that of Titus's age; and on these grounds, the parts they point out as vestiges of the house of Mecænas are, the entrance, which leads into a range of square, roofless chambers, (called,

on supposition, the Public Baths,) and the wall on the right in passing through them, which is partially formed of reticulated building in patches.

'From these real or imaginary classic remains, we entered a damp and dark corridor, the ceiling of which is still adorned with some of the most beautiful specimens that now remain of the paintings of antiquity. Their colouring is fast fading away, and their very outline, I should fear, must be obliterated at no very distant period; so extreme is the humidity of the place, and so incessantly does the water-drop fall.* By the light of a few trembling tapers elevated on the top of a long, bending cane, we saw, at least 20 feet above our heads, paintings in arabesque, executed with a grace, a freedom, a correctness of design, and a masterly command of pencil, that awakened our highest admiration, in spite of all the disadvantages under which they were viewed.....

'Leaving the painted corridor which is adorned with these beautiful specimens of ancient art, we entered halls which, like it, must always have been dark, but are still magnificent. The bright colouring of the crimson stucco, the alcove still adorned with gilding, and the ceilings beautifully painted with fantastic designs, still remain in many parts of them; but how chill, how damp, how desolate are now these gloomy halls of imperial luxury! No sound is to be heard through them, but that of

* 'Notwithstanding that the depth of soil which has accumulated on the top of the building, serves for gardens, the damp seems to have had, hitherto, little or no effect upon these paintings; owing, probably, to the excellence of the Roman brick-work.'—Burton, vol. i. p. 316.

the slow water-drop. In one of these splendid dungeons, we saw the remains of a bath supposed to have been for the private use of the Emperor. In another, we were shewn the crimson-painted alcove where the Laocoon was found in the reign of Leo X. The French, who cleared out a great many of these chambers, found nothing but the Pluto and Cerberus, now in the Capitol, a work of very indifferent sculpture.'*

The height of the rooms in the Baths of Titus, is represented by Mr. Williams as at least 30 feet. This must make them appear still narrower than they are. In many of the rooms, as in the most perfect remains of the Baths of Caracalla, there is no trace of any windows; and it is evident, that they were constructed so as to render them as cool as possible, by the exclusion of the light and external air.† In such rooms, lamps must always have been used; and accordingly, there is scarcely a description of a banquet in any ancient author, in which mention is not made of the golden lamps suspended from the roofs. Yet, the hour at which the ancient Romans were accustomed to take their last regular meal, (the *cœna*,) between three and four o'clock, would not have required lights, had there been windows. In what way they were

* Rome, &c. vol. ii. pp. 96—106.

† Dr. Burton has collected sufficient evidence to prove that glass was used for windows by the ancients. Panes of glass have been found in the ruins of Velleia, and at Pompeii; and before the discovery of glass, mica and talc appear to have been used for the same purpose. It must have been intentionally, therefore, that rooms were constructed without windows.—See Burton, vol. i. pp. 305—315.

ventilated, does not appear; but in the painted ceiling of the corridor, there are square apertures, which, it is supposed, were covered with a grate, and intended for the purpose of ventilation. The height of the rooms was doubtless designed to obviate the stifling effect of the lamps or torches. That the finest statues should be placed in these Baths, will excite no surprise after the intimation, that it is usual for parties to visit the Vatican at night, under the idea that the sculpture is seen to most advantage by torch light. The rising of the muscles, and all those delicate touches of the chisel, which are scarcely perceptible in the glare of day, on the smooth surface of the white marble, are thrown out by the light of lamps or torches with admirable effect, so as to afford a test of the workmanship. The arabesques were designed merely as architectural decorations; and it is obvious, that their general ornamental effect was all that was intended. They were doubtless the work of mere house-painters, and cannot be justly regarded as specimens of ancient art.* All the figures are very small, forming little borders and patterns of birds,

* 'We know that this method of ornamenting rooms was a late introduction; and it was considered as a sign that the art of painting was on the decline, when, instead of representing historical subjects upon the walls, they took to drawing fanciful objects, such as landscapes, ponds, seapieces, and such like. Vitruvius makes a complaint of this kind. . . . . The Italians call this style of painting *Grottesca*, from the subterraneous places in which the ancient specimens of it were discovered.'—Burton, vol. i. pp. 316, 7. The term *arabesque* is not very properly applied to these ornamental paintings, as the Arabs rarely introduced into their decorations, images of men or animals.

beasts, &c ; among which, some green parrots may be seen very distinctly. There are some larger paintings, which are not in such good preservation. At the end of one of the rooms is a large painting of some building, in which the perspective is correctly given.

The finest painting found in these Baths, is the *Nozze Aldobrandini*, (so called from the Aldobrandini Gallery, to which it formerly belonged,) which is supposed to represent the marriage of Peleus and Thetis.* Where the walls are bare, the brick-work has a singular appearance of freshness; the stucco also is perfect in many parts; but the marble, of which there are evident traces on the walls and floors, is gone.

In a lonely vineyard near the *Palombara*, or gunpowder-manufactory, in another part of the Esquiline Hill, is a building, supposed to be connected with these Baths, called the *Sette Sale di Vespasiano*. They have retained the name given to them when seven rooms only had been opened; but there are nine in all of the same size; and an equal number, it is said, are buried beneath, making eighteen. These halls, as they are called, communicate with each other by four arched apertures in each of the partition-walls. These apertures are not opposite each other, but are so arranged, that a person in the first room may look through all of them diagonally. The longest room is 137 feet in length; and the width of each is 17 feet and a

* Winkelmann, in his '*Explication des Monumens de l'Antiquité*,' has published four of these paintings, with a long and learned description. For a brief account of them, see Williams, vol. ii. pp. 65—70.

half.* There can be no doubt that the building was an immense reservoir. The walls are coated with a very hard stucco, on which are seen three distinct tartareous deposites, one above another, formed by a sediment from the water. They are so extremely hard, that it is difficult to separate a small portion from the wall. How it happens that there are three distinct coatings of sediment, it is not very easy to explain; but Dr. Burton has suggested a very ingenious solution of the problem.

'Of the five great aqueducts which brought water into Rome, the *Aqua Julia* supplied the Esquiline and Palatine Hills. Consequently, the Baths of Titus were fed from this stream, and the *Sette Sale* may have formed the reservoir. Now it is known that the *Aqua Julia* was a union of three streams: the *Aqua Martia*, brought to Rome, U. C. 608 or 640, by Q. Martius Rex; the *Aqua Tepula*, which was brought U. C. 627; and the *Aqua Julia*, properly so called, which was introduced U. C. 721, by M. Agrippa. Each stream originally entered the city by itself; but, as the others were brought, they were successively turned into the same aqueduct, and came on one course of arches into Rome. Now it seems not improbable, that the *Aqua Martia* or *Tepula* (whichever was the earliest) formed the first deposite. Then, when the two streams were let in, another deposite began to be formed, which would not in-

* According to Vasi, *each* room is 39 feet long, 13 feet wide, and 8 feet and a half high: the last measurement *may be* correct. *Sette Sale*, is possibly a corruption of *Septizonium*, as a building of that name stood near this spot.

corporate with the first, but lie over it. Lastly, when the *Aqua Julia* was being introduced, (after an interval of nearly a century,) the same temporary withdrawing of the water might have taken place, and thus the second deposite would have hardened. After this, the third was formed by the three streams united. To allow this, we must assume that the *Sette Sale* were not built as a reservoir for the Baths of Titus, but long antecedent, which is not at all contrary to the appearance of the building. It is, indeed, natural to suppose, that when Agrippa brought the aqueduct to the Esquiline Hill, there was a reservoir constructed for it. It seems to have been the custom with most of the aqueducts. The remains of a reservoir for the Claudian Aqueduct, are still to be seen, near the Temple of *Minerva Medica;* and what is called the *Castello dell' Acqua Giulia* is always allowed to have been a reservoir, though it is disputed for what water. The *Piscina Mirabile* near Baiæ, and the Labyrinth near Pozzuoli, are also instances of this custom prevailing.'*

This account assigns a more probable origin to this enormous reservoir, than the notion that it was constructed merely for the use of the Baths of Titus, which could not require so vast a supply. It has been suggested, that it might likewise serve to fill the immense arena of the Coliseum, when used as a *naumachia.* The name which it now bears, 'the Seven Halls of Vespasian,' is but a specimen of the misnomers which have originated in the caprice or blunders of cicerones and antiquaries. Not far from the *Sette Sale* is seen a

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 325—327.

broken section of a high semi-circular brick wall, with two rows of large niches, one above the other, which is pointed out as the remains of the Palace of Titus, while some have imagined it to be part of the upper story of the Baths. These legends are worth no attention; and the purpose of this particular building, it would, be vain to conjecture. Near the Baths is the modern tower from which Nero is said to have contemplated the burning of the city; and close by is the *Via di San Pietro*, anciently *Vicus Sceleratus*, where Tullia, the wife of Tarquin, and daughter of Servius Tullius, drove her chariot over the dead body of her father, assassinated by her husband!

The church of *SS. Martino e Sylvestro* is also said to be built on the ruins of the Imperial palace. Below the church is a crypt, supposed to have formed part of the Baths of Trajan, and to have been converted into a place of worship by Pope St. Sylvester, during the persecutions against the Christians. Under the auspices of the same canonized person, we are told, the first general council after the conversion of Constantine, was held in these dismal vaults. Such is the legend, in which history and chronology are alike set at defiance. If this crypt formed part of the *Thermæ*, it could not have been resorted to by the Christians of the third century for any secret meetings, as the Baths were certainly in use for centuries afterwards. There is something, however, in the deep gloom and stillness of the place, in its wide extent, remote antiquity, and sepulchral character, which, harmonizing with the legend, impresses a strong feeling of awe and melancholy. Around are dimly seen, by the light of the tapers, the

forgotten tombs of abbots and princes, mouldering in obscurity. Yet, as the visiter treads on a fragment of the ancient black and white mosaic pavement, he is reminded, that these damp and silent chambers, now abandoned to the dead, were once the scene of imperial luxury, and resounded to the tread of the masters of the world. While occupied with these thoughts, the voices of the Carmelite monks in the choir above, chanting their evening service, will perhaps fall upon his ear, in a full and prolonged swell, wakening emotions of a solemn and indefinite nature, which it would be difficult to analyse.

The interior of the church above, is described by the Author of 'Rome in the Nineteenth Century,' as one of the most chaste and beautiful in Rome. The platform and tribune, where the high altar is raised above the Confession or Tomb of the Saints, surrounded with the richest pavement of inlaid marbles, have a most striking effect. The naves are formed by a double range of ancient columns of beautiful marble, stuck on modern pedestals of dwarfish disproportion. The capitals are not all alike, and some of them are gilt. They are said to have been brought from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli. The most attractive ornament in the church, is a series of landscapes in fresco by Gaspar Poussin, painted while he took refuge in this convent from the plague which depopulated Rome. They are described as 'unquestionably beautiful compositions, but rapidly executed, with no depth, no effect, apparently done before his genius had reached maturity.' They are much damaged, and the colours have probably changed.

The Esquiline Hill, which was the most extensive of all the seven hills, is said to have derived its name from the groves which formerly adorned its summit.* It was divided into two principal heights, *Cispius* and *Oppius*. On *L'Oppio* stands the church of *S. Pietro in Vinculis*, while *Il Cispio* is crowned with the basilica of *Sta. Maria Maggiore*. Part only of this hill was included within the walls. In the early days of Rome, there was a plot of ground without the city, called the *Campus Esquilinus*, which was used as a cemetery for the lower orders, and in which there was a place allotted for executions, called *Sestertium*.† The Esquiline hill extends from the Cathedral of the Cross, near the *Porta Maggiore*, to the declivity of *Sta. Maria Maggiore*, overlooking the ancient *Vicus Patricius*, which separated it from the Viminal mount. The latter hill, which was included in the Esquiline Region, is said to have taken its name from an ozier-plantation which once grew on its summit. It is small, and its limits are not very clearly perceptible,‡ as, at the Baths of Diocletian, it becomes confounded with the Quirinal. In walking, however, from the *Trinità de' Monti* to *S. Maria Maggiore*, and thence to S. John Lateran, the ascent of all the four hills,

* Varro derives the name from the Latin *excultus*; a proof that the ancient etymologists could be as fanciful and hypothetical as the moderns. He states, that Servius had planted on its summit several sacred groves, such as the *Lucus Querquetulanus*, *Fagutalis*, and *Esquilinus*. The latter word probably gives the true derivation, denoting a grove of beech-trees or chestnuts.

† Horace, Sat. I. viii. 8.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 389.

‡ See page 142 of the present volume.

the Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Cœlian, is, Dr. Burton states, distinctly evident. The Viminal hill is mostly occupied with gardens. The Quirinal, which took its ancient name from the celebrated temple of the deified Romulus,* is now known by the name of *Monte Cavallo*, from the two horses seen on the top of it. These were found in the Baths of Constantine, and were removed to their present situation by Sixtus V., who began the palace on this hill. They stand in the middle of the *Piazza di Monte Cavallo*, one of the finest squares in Rome. The horses are about 18 feet high. By each horse stands a colossal attendant; and between them has been placed an Egyptian obelisk of red granite, 45 feet high without the pedestal, which was found near the Mausoleum of Augustus.

These two colossal groupes have been the subject of much learned and critical discussion. The most probable conjecture is, that they were intended to represent Castor and Pollux, as there is a coin of Maxentius, on the reverse of which are two figures with horses, exactly in the same attitude, with the legend *Æternitas*. There are two statues on the Capitol very much like to them. The Latin inscription which ascribes these statues to Phidias and Praxiteles, is of very dubious antiquity, and still more questionable authority.†

* See authorities in Cramer, vol. i. p. 392.

† It was a common trick, to inscribe statues with the names of great artists. Some antiquaries allege, that these inscriptions were affixed by the people of Alexandria, whence the statues were brought to Rome. Evelyn says, that they were sent to Nero by Tiridates, king of Armenia; but cites no authority for the assertion.—See Burton, vol. i. p. 157.—Evelyn, vol. i. p. 100.

The figures, which are in the act of guiding the horses, 'are remarkable,' Mr. Williams says, 'for lightness and manly beauty: their proportions are exquisite; and from certain points, they appear little inferior to the finest statues in the world. The horses are not so well proportioned: that the sculptors might give dignity to the figures, they have made the horses comparatively small,—a liberty that will not be condemned by the judicious critic.' Being placed to great advantage, they have a striking effect.

The Quirinal hill is almost entirely occupied by noble palaces, churches, and fountains, which have replaced whatever antiquities it might once boast of. The vestiges of Constantine's Baths in the gardens of the Colonna Palace, and those of Diocletian, built partly on this hill and partly on the Viminal, are the only remains of any importance.

The ruins of the Baths of Diocletian,* which are about half a mile to the north of those of Titus, may be traced over an area of about 400 feet in length. They have apparently been built in the form of an oblong, with a circular hall, ac-

* An inscription given by Gruter, states, that they were constructed, not by Diocletian alone, but by Maximianus, Constantius, and Maximinus.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 393. Maximianus is said to have begun them when he returned from Africa, A.D. 298, and to have employed seven years in the work. 'He had distinguished himself very much in persecuting the Christians; and accordingly, he ordered as many as he could find to work in the building. Some say that 40,000 Christians worked here; according to Evelyn, 150,000.'—Burton, vol. i. p. 333. This is but a part of the absurd legend. These 40,000 'Christian slaves,' were afterwards martyred by the cruel Diocletian!

cording to some accounts, at all the four corners, or, more probably, at two only; and these are still standing. One of them, which is much dilapidated, has been converted into a granary. The other owes its preservation to the piety of a Countess Sforza, who, in 1598, transformed it into the Church of *San Bernardo*, and endowed the convent to which it belongs. It is a noble building, and the light pouring in through the top of the lofty dome, has a fine effect. In the garden near this church, are some remains of what Vasi calls 'a circular portico with steps like those of an amphitheatre.' It has evidently been a gymnasium or *palæstra*, the arena of which is occupied by the garden. Part of the portico has been converted into a small oratory, but it is now falling to ruin. In another part, a humble but decent dwelling has been formed, having its garden on the raised terrace.

The principal part of the Baths (supposed to be the *Pinacotheca*, or great covered hall which occupied the centre) has become, under the hands of Michael Angelo, one of the most strikingly beautiful churches in Rome,—the church of *S. Maria degli Angeli*, belonging to the convent of Carthusians. By adding a wing, that illustrious architect turned it into a Greek cross, the nave of which is 386 feet long, and the transept 308; both 74 feet in width, and 84 feet in height.* A circular hall (or *exhedra*), similar to the church of

* These are the measurements as given by Mr. Simond. They differ from those in Vasi; viz., the nave, 360 feet; transept 329; width, 79; height, 90 feet. Dr. Burton makes the cross 298 feet in length each way, and the height, 91 feet.

San Bernardo, serves as a vestibule in the centre of one side, and a deep recess or oblong chamber on the opposite side, contains the high altar. The vaulted roof, still studded with the metallic circles to which the lamps were suspended, is supported by sixteen noble Corinthian columns. Eight of these only are ancient, consisting each of a single block of oriental granite, 43 feet high and 16 in circumference. The other eight are of brick, stuccoed so ingeniously in imitation of granite, that, at a little distance, they can scarcely be distinguished from the others. The proportion of the columns, as well as of the hall itself, has been injured, however, by raising the pavement six feet above the ancient level, burying the original pedestals, for which some of white marble have been substituted. The object is said to have been, to remedy the dampness of the original floor

Mr. Forsyth, a high authority in matters of architectural taste, thus characterises this beautiful edifice. 'This church is but a consecrated hall; for altars and crucifixes have not been able to efface the original character of the *Pinacotheca*. Here are no aisles to diminish, or darken, or embarrass. M. Angelo, in reforming the rude magnificence of Diocletian, has preserved the simplicity and the proportions of the original, has given a monumental importance to each of its great columns, restored their capitals, and made one noble entablature pervade the whole cross.'* The church, however, has been considerably altered by subsequent architects from the original design of Buo-

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 224.

narotti. The eight brick columns are said to have been added in 1749, when the church underwent extensive repairs and various alterations. That which is now the principal entrance, was previously a side door; and the great door was in what is now the transverse nave, where its place is occupied by an altar. How far these alterations may be deemed improvements, the connoisseurs must decide.*

This church is rich in paintings, among which is an admirable *fresco* by Domenichino, the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, originally painted in St. Peter's, where the mosaic copy now supplies its place. Several other original Mosaic pictures are said to have been transported hither from St. Peter's by Benedict XIV.; but some are copies. Opposite to the Domenichino is the Baptism of Christ by Carlo Maratti, who lies buried in this church. Here also is the monument of a greater artist, the highly gifted but unhappy Salvator Rosa. The great altar boasts of 'an extremely ancient image of the Virgin with the seven angels,' from which the church takes its dedicatory name. On the pavement, a meridian was traced in the year 1701,

* 'Vanvitelli, the last of the celebrated architects of Italy, re-opened the ancient entrance on the side, and, by uniting the circular vestibule with the chief room, and adding the choir on the opposite side, he gave the church length in that direction. The four side niches have been filled up; and the length, or what is now the width, is increased, by opening into it two other chambers. In its present state, the great hall, with the two additional rooms, forms a transept; but, as this hall constitutes, on every account, the principal feature of the place, it ought certainly to form the nave, and the alteration was injudicious.'—Woods, vol. ii. p. 4.

by Bianchini, which is asserted to be one of the most correct in existence.

Behind the church, but still within the *Thermæ*, is the convent of the Carthusians, the cloister of which is from the design of M. Angelo. It is a square portico, supported by a hundred travertine columns, over which are corridors. In the centre of the enclosure is a clump of enormous cypresses, round a fountain, which are said to have been planted by the great architect when he built the cloister. There were originally four, of which three remain, and they now measure 13 feet in girth.

On the site of the *Thermæ*, there are some other scattered vestiges. A building which seems to have been a magnificent hall, is now the miserable hovel of a muleteer; and part of the site is occupied by the *Villa Massimi* (now Negroni) and its spacious gardens, once famed for a valuable collection of statues and bas-reliefs found in the excavations, now in a state of reckless neglect, dirt, and disrepair. Behind the Baths, towards the city walls, are seen some vestiges of the famous *Agger* or ramparts of the old city.*

Of the Baths of Constantine, some old battered brick walls and fragments of coarse mosaic, in the Colonna Gardens, present the only vestiges.† A few low, broken fragments of brick wall in the grounds of the *Villa Massimi* on the Esquiline, are attested, by an inscription found there, to be the remains of the Baths of the Empress Helena.

* Rome, &c. vol. ii. p. 113—21. Vasi, pp. 126—131.

† These remains, Mr. Woods says, ' exhibit nothing analogous to what we have of the other baths. They contained

Some uninteresting ruins in a vineyard between the Aventine and the Tiber, are called, on conjecture, the Baths of Decius. Of the long list of *Thermæ* which adorned the imperial city, the only one, besides those of Titus and Diocletian, of which any considerable remains are left, are those of Caracalla, which still shew, Mr. Forsyth remarks, 'how magnificent a coarse ruffian may be.

These Baths, which form the principal ruin on the Aventine Mount, were smaller than those of Diocletian, and larger than those of Titus; but much more of them is remaining, than of either of the others. They are situated at the base of the most southern height of the Aventine, on the *Via Appia*, in what was anciently the twelfth region of the city; called, from the public reservoir, *Piscina Publica*. They now present an immense range of roofless ruins, not unlike those of some of our old castles in England; and next to the Coliseum, are the greatest mass of ancient building in Rome. The length of the whole is said to be 1840 feet; the breadth, 1476.* The outer wall

two lofty stories of vaulted halls above ground, and there are some traces of a third. A raking line seen in one part, with a range of arches following it, seems to announce a great flight of steps; but how the rooms were disposed, or to what purpose they were applied, can only be guessed at.' —Woods, vol. i. p. 464.

* Burton, vol. i. p. 327.—Mr. Simond 'paced the outside of these ruins, and found them to be about 1200 feet on a side, equal to 35 or 40 acres, and nearly commensurate with the garden of the Tuileries.' (p. 187.) According to Vasi, the Baths of Diocletian covered an area of only 1069 feet in length and breadth; which, if correct, would make them to have been inferior in extent to those of Caracalla.

may be traced in nearly its whole circuit, although it has lost something of its height. The lower story, in which the baths were constructed, is entirely buried; and the rooms of the upper story which are now seen, are in complete ruin. The roofs, where any portion of them remains, consist half of pumice-stone, which appears to have been adopted for the sake of its lightness. Portions of arches are still standing, and numerous recesses along the walls, mark the places of statues; but in the most perfect parts there is no trace of any windows. Mosaic appears to have been the general flooring. 'I followed it,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'on the steps of a broken staircase, up to the very summit. I found the tessellation entire, even where the pavement had sunk, and had left round the room a vacancy, which was filled with a skirting of flowered alabaster. Variegated marbles now succeeded to fresco-painting, which had spread, during the three Flavian reigns, from the palace to the stable.'*

A ramble among these massive constructions, is a pleasure that will bear repeating; and the reader cannot fail to be interested by the following graphic description of the scene from a female pen.

'We passed through a long succession of immense halls, open to the sky, whose pavements of costly marbles and rich mosaics, long since torn

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 181.—'Such was the rage for variegation, that plain marbles were stained or inlaid, and spots were incrusted on the spotted; hence their pavonine beds and pantherine tables.'

away, have been supplied by the soft green turf, that forms a carpet more in unison with their deserted state. The wind, sighing through the branches of the aged trees that have taken root in them without rivalling their loftiness, was the only sound we heard; and the bird of prey which burst through the thick ivy of the broken wall far above us, was the only living object we beheld. These immense halls formed part of the internal division of the *Thermæ*, which was entirely devoted to purposes of amusement. The first of these halls or walled enclosures that you enter, and several of the others, have evidently been open in the centre. They were surrounded with covered porticoes,* supported by immense columns of granite, which have long since been carried away; chiefly by the popes and princes of the Farnese family. In consequence of their loss, the roofs fell with a concussion so tremendous, that it is said to have been felt even in Rome, like the distant shock of an earthquake. Fragments of this vaulted roof are still hanging at the corners of the portico. The open part in the centre, was probably destined for athletic sports.

'Many have been the doubts and disputes among the antiquaries, which of these halls has the best claim to be considered as the once wonderful *Cella Solearis*.† All are roofless now; but the

* The porticoes are said to have been added by the infamous Heliogabalus and his more worthy successor, Alexander Severus. From the former, the baths were called *Thermæ Antonianæ*.

† The *Cella Solearis* was so called (according to Spartianus) from its ceiling, which rested on cross bars of brass or

most eastern of them, that which is furthest to the left on entering, and which has evidently had windows, seems generally to enjoy the reputation.* Besides these enormous halls, there are, on the western side of these ruins, the remains of a large circular building, and a great number of smaller divisions, of all sizes and forms, in their purpose wholly incomprehensible... Excepting that they belonged to that part of the *Thermæ* destined for purposes of amusement, nothing can now be known; and though the immense extent of the Baths may be traced far from hence by their wide-spreading ruins, it is equally difficult and unprofitable to explore them any further. In the last of these halls, there is a deep draw-well; and in one of our many visits to these ruins, we found a young Englishman of our acquaintance, who, in his ardour for antiquities, was on the point of descending in the bucket to the bottom of it. We could not succeed in stopping him, till we called in the testimony of the old woman who opens the door, in corroboration of our own, to prove that the well is

copper, interwoven in the manner of the straps of the Roman *solea* or sandal. This flat roof to so spacious a room, was considered by the ancients as a master-piece of architecture. It is said to have been the work of Egyptian artists. Forsyth questions this etymology.

* Mr. Simond, on the contrary, says, there is no appearance of windows, and that the light must have been introduced through the roof; but whether he speaks of this room, is doubtful. He gives the measurements of the supposed *Cella Solearis*, 188 feet in length by 134 in width. Vasi says, 202 feet by 144. Mr. Burton, 203 feet by 146. The Author cited in the text, says, 'not less than 150 feet.' King's College Chapel at Cambridge measures, within the walls, 291 feet by 46½, and is 78 feet in height.

not *antico*, but was made for the use of the pigs that now revel undisturbed in all the luxuries of these imperial halls.'*

By means of the broken staircase mentioned by Forsyth, the visiter may climb, though not without some peril, to the top of the building, and ramble, in various directions, through the shrubbery which has grown on the summit of the walls. Perpendicular channels of tiles may be observed on the outside, which seem to have carried the water from the roof. At a short distance, in a vineyard, is a reservoir which is supposed to have supplied the Baths; and in another vineyard is an octagon building which has been called a temple of Hercules.

The precious marbles which have been found in these Baths, sufficiently attest their ancient magnificence. Some of them are among the finest specimens of ancient sculpture. In 1540, were discovered the Farnese Hercules, and the Flora, now in the royal Neapolitan gallery; and a few years after, the famous *Toro Farnese*, which has likewise been transferred to Naples. The Callypygian Venus was also found here; and recent excavations have been rewarded with further discoveries.† Caracalla is said to have pillaged Hadrian's villa to adorn his Baths. Olympiodorus states, that 1600 seats of polished marble

* Rome, &c. vol. ii. pp. 88—91.

† The Conte de Velo has been at the expense of excavating a considerable part of these Baths. At the depth of six or eight feet, the ancient mosaic pavement was discovered; and *below* this are several curious arrangements of walls and conduits.—Woods, vol ii. p. 40.

were made for the use of the bathers. But that recreation was only one purpose for which these splendid edifices were erected. The Roman *Thermæ*, besides being provided with every accommodation and luxury connected with baths hot, cold, or tepid, included spacious galleries and courts for amusements of all descriptions. The Baths of Caracalla contained within its precincts, temples of Apollo, Esculapius, Bacchus, and Hercules. Besides the usual bathing-apartments and the great central vestibule, it contained two extensive libraries and a saloon for music; along the entire front was a gymnasium for exercise; and the spacious gardens were encircled with a lofty portico opening into halls for the recitation of poetry and the delivery of philosophical lectures. Numerous slaves were in attendance, and the whole establishment was under the superintendence of officers of police. The price of admission was only about a farthing of our money, large funds being in general appropriated to maintaining them, and some were supported wholly at the expense of the State. In the fourth century, they are known to have stood in all their original magnificence; and although the early Christians were dissuaded from frequenting the Baths, because they had become haunts of licentiousness and crime, they were not generally deserted until after the destruction of the aqueducts by Vitiges in the sixth century. So total is the change of manners in modern Rome, that the city has not now a single public bath; and private baths, which were anciently very numerous, some of them vying in splendour, though not in extent, with the public *Thermæ*, are now rarely attached

to even the spacious and costly palaces of the nobles. With the exception of some on a very confined scale, belonging to one of the hotels, and frequented almost exclusively by foreigners, there are no baths in Rome. The modern Romans have no taste for any species of luxury which bears the remotest affinity to cleanliness.

The Aventine Mount is supposed to have derived its name from Aventinus Silvius, king of Alba, who was buried there. Pliny speaks of it in the plural,* as it was divided by a road into two heights; one called *Saxum*, the other *Remuria*, in allusion to the legend respecting the supposed station of Remus. It was given to the Latins, U. C. 119. Dr. Burton thinks, that the greater part was, probably, always turned to use by cultivation. It is now occupied by gardens, with here and there a solitary church, built out of the fragments of ancient edifices. Of these, the most worthy of observation are, the church of *Sta. Sabina*, built on the supposed ruins of the temple of *Juno Regina*, consecrated by Camillus after the capture of Veii;† the church of *Sta. Maria Aven-*

* —'*sacros Aventinosque montes.*'—Pliny, lib. xix. c. 4, in Burton.

† 'Internally, the nave is formed by twenty-four fluted marble columns with attic bases, said to have been taken from the temple of Diana; but I much doubt if the capitals of these belong to the building mentioned by Horace. The columns support arches, and there is no entablature... There is also a beautiful marble door-case, probably belonging to the same edifice as that from which the columns were taken. The ornamented face is not exposed in the church, but in a hall which forms a communication between it and the cloisters; and in this hall are small columns with twisted flutes... The

tina, belonging to the Priory of Malta, supposed to occupy the site of an ancient temple dedicated to *Bona Dea;* and that of *St. Alexis*, which the antiquaries have fixed upon as the site of the *Armilustrum*, or place of military exercise. At the foot of the Aventine, and close to the Tiber, were the ancient *navalia* or docks of Rome; near which were porticoes, an emporium, and temples of Hercules, Hope, and Apollo Medicus. The public granaries also stood in this quarter. Of these, however, no traces have been discovered; and this once populous region is now uninhabitable in the summer, from the fatal prevalence of *malaria.*

'We followed the *Via Triumphalis* half a mile,' says Mr. Simond, 'and not a human creature met our eye. The celebrated heap of broken pottery (*Monte Testaccio*), situated in this deserted part of the city, makes full as respectable an appearance as any of the legitimate seven hills, being, in fact, higher by a few feet than the Capitoline hill, and affording a fine view from the summit. It has, in some places, a slight covering of soil and grass, but is in general quite bare,* exhibiting mostly fragments of those large earthen vessels (*amphoræ*) which were used by the

usual entrance to the church is on the side, by a little portico of four columns, two of a dark sienite.'—Woods, vol. i. p. 399.

* This mount, and the meadows in which it stands, offer some amusement, however, to the botanist in the spring. 'The mount especially,' Mr. Woods says, 'is almost covered with *orchideæ*, among which *ophrys apifera* and *tenthredinifera* and *orchis papilionacea* are the most abundant. I found here also *ophrys hiulca* and *arachnitis*.'—Woods, vol. ii. p. 10.

ancients, instead of casks, to hold their wine, and usually contained 25 or 30 quarts. These fragments leave vacant about as much space between them as their substance occupies, and thus admit a great circulation of air in the interior. The numerous wine-cellars dug into this singular hill at its base, are extremely cool. In the spring, the common people of Rome resort to this classical mount, to get drunk; but from July to October, every part of it would be unsafe, except the summit, which rises a little above the level of pestilence.'*

Monte Testaccio is supposed to be the same hill as the *Doliolum* of P. Victor, but it is not mentioned by any older author. In the thirteenth century, it appears to have been known under the name of *Mons de Palio*.† It occupies the south-western corner of Rome near the Tiber, just within the walls of Aurelian. It is reckoned to be 160 feet (Vasi says 175) high, and a third of a mile (541 feet) in circumference. Immediately below, are seen the tombs of the Protestant cemetery: the greater part are those of English visiters.‡

* Simond, pp. 189, 90. Mr. Forsyth remarks, that ancient Rome, which lay more on the south-eastern side of its mounts, occupied a site naturally more unhealthy than the present city, which is sheltered by those mounts from the mephitic winds, and is open to the ventilation of the north. The mephitic exhalations, it is said, may be stopped by low hills, woods, and even buildings. If so, the advance of the *malaria* is easily accounted for.

† Burton, vol. i. p. 57.

‡ The ground was enclosed in 1824, at the expense of the Government, when part of the *Via Appia* was brought to light.

Beyond them rises the pyramidal sepulchre of Caius Cestius, close to the Gate of St. Paul, which is supposed to answer to the ancient *Porta Lavernalis.*

This pyramid (the only monument of the kind in Rome) stands partly within the walls and partly without, Aurelian having drawn the new line of his walls exactly across it. The base is a square of 96 feet, and the height 121 feet. It is built of brick, cased with flags of white marble a foot thick, which have become black with age, and resting on a base of travertine about 3 feet in height. The sepulchral chamber is 18 feet by 12, and 13 feet in height. The ceiling and walls are stuccoed, and on the stucco are some paintings still in tolerable preservation. They consist of a groupe of female figures, (the central one representing Victory,) with vases and candelabra, and are supposed to indicate the sacred office of the deceased, who, we learn from an inscription, was one of the *septemviri*, or seven *epulones* appointed to prepare the *lectisternia* or solemn votive banquets. He is supposed to have lived about U. C. 700.* Another inscription states, that the structure was finished, in pursuance of the will of the deceased, in 330 days. The pyramid, having

* Mr. Hobhouse conjectures, that he was the C. Cestius mentioned by Seneca as 'a flatterer of the Augustan court, who was publicly scourged by the order of M. Cicero, the son, for presuming to defame his father in his presence.' But Dr. Burton remarks, that Cicero's son must have been too young to order the punishment of a man who, there is reason to think, died before U. C. 710; and he supposes him to be the C. Cestius mentioned by Cicero in his speech for Flaccus. It is a point of not the slightest interest.

become greatly dilapidated, was repaired in 1673 by order of Pope Alexander VII.; and in digging on that occasion, a pedestal was found, with a foot of a colossal statue in bronze attached to it, which an inscription attested to have been that of the same vain and wealthy Roman knight. It is now in the *Stanza del Vaso* in the Capitol.*

The pyramidal form seems never to have become fashionable among the Greeks or Romans, although it was in use among the ancient Etruscans; and a pyramid was raised to the memory of Scipio, traces of which existed, near the Mausoleum of Hadrian, in the time of Alexander VI. But, in the reign of Augustus, an Egyptian fashion was introduced by the importation of obelisks, idols, and other trophies of the conquest of the kingdom of the Ptolemies. The worship of Isis and Serapis, at first introduced with difficulty, became popular under Augustus; and the third region took its name from the temple consecrated by that Emperor in conjunction with Mark Antony, to those exotic deities. It was probably in conformity to this prevailing fashion, that the form of a pyramid was chosen by C. Cestius for his splendid tomb. Fifteen feet deep of rubbish had accumulated above the base, when the pyramid was restored by Alexander VII. 'It is curious to see,' remarks Mr. Simond, 'how Nature, disappointed of her usual means of destruction by the pyramidal shape, goes to work another way. That very shape affording a better hold for plants, their roots have penetrated between the stones, and,

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 283—290. Hobhouse, p. 205.

acting like wedges, have lifted and thrown aside large blocks, in such a manner as to threaten the disjointed assemblage with entire destruction. In Egypt, the extreme heat and want of moisture during a certain part of the year, hinder the growth of plants in such situations; and in Africa alone are pyramids eternal.'*

A straight road across a desert, rendered more desolate in appearance by a few houses abandoned to untimely decay, leads, in half an hour from the Gate, to the church of *San Paolo fuori le mura*.† Some of the deserted houses have been erected on artificial mounds a little above the general level, in the hope of obtaining better air; but the *malaria* has apparently baffled the inhabitants. During the hot season, a single monk, with one servant, remains to guard the cathedral and convent;—'a forlorn hope left to contend with the fever.' The road crosses the ancient Almo, (now the *Acqua Taccio*,) flowing through the Egerian valley to the Tiber.

The Basilica of *San Paolo* is, in point of antiquity, one of the most curious in the vicinity of Rome. The original edifice which occupied its site, was built by Constantine, above the supposed tomb of the martyred Apostle. A new building was commenced by the Emperor Theodosius in 386, and finished by Honorius, his successor, in

* Simond, p. 261.

† A covered portico once extended from the Gate to the Basilica, a distance of 13 *stadia*; but of this, no trace remains. 'Nothing meets the eye but ruined tombs, or paltry chapels and crucifixes that record miracles, by the way-side.'—Rome, &c., vol. ii. p. 284.

395. Pope Leo III., who reigned from A. D. 795 to 810, restored the roof, which had been destroyed by an earthquake, and built the arch near the Tribune. The portico was erected by Benedict XIII. In 1138, Innocent II. surrounded it with strong walls, the former ones being in a ruinous condition. A series of Gothic windows is seen on the side facing the city; but, in the interior, there is no appearance of these windows, as they are completely blocked up, and those which give light to the church, are square, in the spaces between the pointed ones. The two exterior aisles are lower than the rest of the church, and evidently of a later date.

This cathedral, were it in better condition, Dr. Burton says, would be among the handsomest of the Roman churches; but both the interior and the exterior present a sad appearance of inattention; and in the midst of our admiration for so magnificent a structure, we are disgusted with the damp and dirt which disfigure it. For this neglected state, the insalubrity of the spot will, perhaps, in part account. In summer, it is deserted. The Reformation, too, it seems, has alienated it from its royal protector; for, prior to that era, the King of England was protector of St. Paul's, as the King of France is of St. John Lateran, the King of Spain of St. Mary's, and the Emperor of St. Peter's. No church in Rome, except St. Peter's, exceeds it in dimensions, this being 260 feet long, without the tribune, and 136 wide.* 'Even St. Peter's,' remarks Dr. Burton,

* Mr. Woods says, the nave is 80 feet wide, and the entire width exceeds 200 feet.

'can produce nothing equal to the forty Corinthian pillars on each side of the nave. They are not all of the same marble, and consequently not of equal beauty; but their heights accord, being 52 palms; and as age has made a great impression upon the colour of all of them, the difference is not apparent on a general view. Twenty-four of them are of the purple-spotted marble called *pavonazzo*;* the rest are of Parian marble (*marmo greco.*)... The interior is divided into five aisles, which contain in all 80 pillars; and the whole number which the church includes, is said to be 138, most of which are ancient. I should not hesitate to pronounce these the finest assemblage of columns which Italy can boast.'†

Mr. Forsyth speaks of them in terms of more qualified admiration. 'The columns, particularly those of the nave, are admired for their marble, their proportions, and their purpose. Here, indeed, they are aliens, removed, it is said, from Adrian's tomb,‡ and forced into these aisles as a

* The principal quarry for the *pavonazzo* marble was near the city of Synnas in Phrygia. It was also found near Alabanda and Miletus, and in the Isle of Scyros. Both Prudentius and Claudian speak of the beauty of the Synnadic marble.

† Burton, vol. ii. pp. 189—192.

‡ So Vasi has it, according to the Roman antiquaries. Others say, that they came from the *Basilica Æmilia* in the Forum. Dr. Burton thinks that they probably were obtained from the Villa of Gordian, in the *Via Prænestina*, which contained fifty columns of this marble. Mr. Woods thinks, that they must have been the spoils of the best ages of architecture; and that those who attribute them to Hadrian, probably assign them to too recent a period. The workmanship of the marble pillars is, on the contrary, very bad.

matter of convenience. Such beauty as theirs was too natural,—it was not difficult or confused enough to be admired in this monkish period. But pass into the cloister, and you will find other columns, true natives of the place, tortured into every variety of ugliness; some spiral, some twisted, some doubly twisted, some spiral and twisted at once, with the hideous addition of inlay. The chancel of this church terminates in a large *absis* or alcove, which is crowned with a mosaic of the fifth century, exhibiting a few grim old saints on an azure and gold ground. A model so glaring, so grotesque, so imperial, could not escape the ambition of succeeding church-builders. Some Greek artists propagated the taste through Tuscany and Venice, and the art itself was practised by monks. But what a stride from their bespangled works to the modern mosaics of St. Peter's!'*

'Among all the ugly churches of Rome,' says the Author of Rome in the Nineteenth Century, 'this is remarkable for its surpassing ugliness.† In vain have they adorned its exterior with huge mosaic saints, or stuck upon its front the excrescence of a portico, or given to its entrance costly gates of bronze, brought from Constantinople,—on which the figure of their donor, a Roman Consul of the eleventh century, appears kneeling before an image of the Blessed Virgin;—in vain have they exhausted all their art and all their

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 192.

† So says Mr. Woods, as to the exterior, which resembles 'a great ugly barn.' The portico, which is not at all in harmony with the rest of the building, 'is become a useless appendage, since the road now passes by what was the back of the edifice, and you creep in by a narrow winding passage.'

wealth;—the hopeless meanness of the *Secoli Bassi* still clings inseparably to it; and it is one of the many instances, that the most splendid materials and ornaments are insufficient to produce architectural beauty, unless combined by the hand of taste. Perhaps no edifice in the world can vie with this in the number and beauty of the majestic columns which adorn its interior. A hundred and twenty pillars of the rarest marble and granite, the spoils of the ancient world, at once burst upon your view,—and yet, it is like an old barn. You raise your eyes from the Grecian beauty of the long colonnades that divide its fine receding aisles, and behold a range of black worm-eaten rafters, through which, far above, appears the inside of the bare tiled roof; for be it known, that this hideous old church, to adorn which some of the noblest edifices of antiquity have been levelled with the dust, never had a ceiling! * Nor has it quite hall a pavement; and that half is composed of marble inscriptions broken to pieces! But the columns, the beautiful columns, we turn our eyes to with sorrow! Instead of their fine Corinthian entablature, a huge weight of dead bare wall, scooped out into mean little arches, barbarously rests upon their polished shafts.† The portraits of forgotten

* 'The roof is very well constructed, but is not a beautiful object, entirely exposed as it is to the church. It is a defect inherent to this sort of plan, that we cannot consistently make use of a vaulted roof, because the columns below can never seem sufficient to support it. It must therefore be coved or flat; but the timber work may be covered with panels, and ornamented with mouldings and gilding. Here, all is rude and naked.'—Woods, vol. i. p. 386.

† 'The wall of the nave above these arches,' Mr. Wood

Popes, mouldering on the mildewed walls,—the gaunt figures of the old grim saints, in barbarous mosaic, above the altars,—all else in such strange contrast with the majesty of these matchless columns, that one cannot but wish to knock down the horrible old fabric in which they are shrouded, and restore them to light and beauty.'*

A fate the reverse of that which this Writer invoked on the horrible old fabric, has since destroyed the only valuable parts of its architecture. 'Repairs were making on the outside of this Basilica, by order of Pius VII., when, very early on the morning of July 16, 1824, the whole roof was discovered to be in flames; and very soon after, it fell down into the aisles; where the fire raged with such fury that it absolutely calcined the columns of *pavonazzo* and Parian marble which adorned the middle aisle; likewise splitting from top to bottom the immense columns which support the great arch of the Tribuna, and ruining in the same manner the columns of Egyptian granite and *cipolino* in the cross-aisle. Even the columns of porphyry on each side of the altars, are, notwithstanding the extreme hardness of the marble, shivered to pieces. But the great arch of the middle aisle, and the mosaics with which it is lined, though damaged, are still remaining; so likewise are several of the portraits of the Popes; and the high altar, under which rest part of the

says, 'is very much too high. The walls of the aisles are merely white-washed. Everything breathes poverty and neglect, dirt and decay; yet, nobody enters without feeling impressed with the magnificence of the design.'

* Rome, &c. vol. ii. p. 285.

relics of St. Paul, is not very materially injured. The western *façade*, decorated with mosaics of the thirteenth century, remains entire; as does the colonnade erected by Benedict XIII. But the large door of bronze, cast at Constantinople, was partly melted by the violence of the conflagration.'* The origin of the fire is unaccounted for. 'Architects say,' continues Mrs. Starke, 'that the beams of cedar which supported the roof, were so prodigiously thick, that they must have smouldered for days before the flames burst forth; and it is even conjectured, that a train of combustibles must have been employed in order to make the fire communicate from beam to beam!' Whatever ground there may be for this suspicion, the ruin effected by the conflagration of such massive and solid materials, may serve to explain the manner in which the edifices of ancient Rome have fallen before the same minister of destruction.

A curious story is connected with the series of papal portraits. Leo I., who reigned from 440 to 461, commenced the series, and had all his predecessors painted. St. Symmachus (498—514) and Benedict XIV. (1740) continued the work. On their authenticity, it is needless to speculate.† At length, the series (253 in number) had extended all round the church, and the place appointed for Pius VI. was immediately next to that of St. Peter.

* Starke's Directions, p. 186. Vasi says, the church was destroyed in 1823.

† The series of papal portraits in the *duomo* at Siena, comes down only to the middle of the twelfth century.

It was consequently a saying at Rome, that they were to have no more popes,—a prediction which at one time seemed likely to be accomplished. Pius VII., however, on recovering the throne, placed his own portrait under that of St. Peter, so commencing a new series. The partial destruction of this portrait gallery might seem an ominous event. According, however, to the prophetical catalogue of popes ascribed to St. Malachy, extending to the end of time, twelve popes are yet to sit upon the pontifical throne; after which, 'the city upon seven hills shall be destroyed, and the awful Judge shall judge the people.'*

* We are indebted to Dr. Burton for an account of this singular document.—(Vol. ii. pp. 193—197.) St. Malachy was born at Armagh in 1094; became archbishop of that see in 1127; resigned his honours in 1135; and died at Clairvaux in 1148. He was the first saint regularly canonized by the Romish Church. The fact is, however, pretty well ascertained, that the prophetic list of popes ascribed to the Saint, was an invention of the Cardinals assembled in conclave, to elect a pope upon the death of Urban VII. in 1590. Some of the coincidences between the supposed prophetic designation and the fact, even in recent times, are sufficiently curious. For instance, Pius VI. had the symbol, *Peregrinus Apostolicus*, which of course was accomplished by his journey to Vienna; and Pius VII. was designated by *Aquila rapax*, which was fulfilled, not in his own character indeed, but in the rapacity of the French eagle. Leo XII. was symbolised, not very unsuitably, under the title, *Canis et Coluber;* and his successor may be thought to have supported the designation of *Vir Religiosus*, not only by his title of *Pius*, but by his general respectability of character. But how will the designation of the present Pope, Gregory XVI., *De Balneis Hetruriæ*, be explained? His name is Cappellari, and as he was a Camaldoli monk, he is, probably, of Etrurian birth.

The cloisters of the Benedictine convent annexed to this church, though presenting a sad spectacle of dirt and neglect, deserve, Dr. Burton says, to be examined for their architecture, and for several curious inscriptions preserved upon the walls. The architecture, however, is stated to be 'in the true taste of the barbarous ages.' Above a mile further from Rome, on the same road, is the church of *S. Paolo alle tre Fontane*, built over the spot where St. Paul is said to have been beheaded. The three fountains at this place (anciently called *Ad Aquas Salvias*), 'miraculously spouted forth at the three rebounds which the Apostle's head made after it was struck off!' This church was rebuilt in 1590 by Cardinal Aldobrandini. Near it is a church dedicated to S. Vincent and Anastasius, built in 624 by Pope Honorius I., and repaired by Leo III. It is, according to Vasi, 'of Gothic architecture, with three naves divided by pilasters, on which are the twelve apostles painted in fresco, from the designs of Raffael.' A third church, of an octagon form, called *S. Maria Scala Cœli*, 'was erected on the cemetery of St. Zeno, in which more than 12,000 Christians, together with that saint, were buried; all martyred by Diocletian, after having worked at the construction of his Baths.' This is also an edifice of the sixteenth century, which is, probably, the date of the legend, and of the liberal indulgence 'for ten thousand years,' which may here be purchased. The spot, from its extreme marshiness, and its immediate vicinity to the flat, oozy bed of the Tiber, is so unhealthy as to be now deserted.

Of the seven churches which claim the honour

and privileges of *basilicas** or cathedrals, it is remarkable that three are without the walls. St. John Lateran, the metropolitan church of Rome, which has the precedence in rank even of St. Peter's, stands just within the walls, on the Cœlian Mount. The cathedral of the Holy Cross stands close by the south-eastern angle of the wall, on the lonely expanse of the Esquiline. The situation of St. Mary's, near the Baths of Titus, has already been noticed. The *Basilica* of *San Lorenzo* stands about a mile without the gate of the same name, on the *Via Tiburtina*, near the extremity of the Esquiline. That of St. Sebastian is on the Appian way, two miles from the gate to which it gives name. St. Paul's is on the Ostian. It seems difficult to account for the selection of these spots, putting aside the legends, since they do not appear to be recommended by either superior salubrity or security. We shall next proceed to describe the venerable edifice which now forms the principal object on the Cœlian hill.

* These churches received this name from being generally formed out of Roman *basilicæ* or halls of justice. The tribune at the upper part of the building, the seat of the judge, received the altar; and throughout Italy, it retains the name, and indeed the form of a tribune. The Seven *Basilicæ* possess the inestimable privilege of according 6000 years' indulgence to the penitent who shall duly visit in one day their designated shrines and altars. Various unsatisfactory explanations are given of the pre-eminence of these seven churches, five only of which are of Patriarchal dignity, and correspond to the five regions or presbyteries into which Pope Simplicius is said to have divided Rome in the fifth century. S. Sebastian and *Sta. Croce* appear to have been added to the number afterwards.—See Burton, vol ii. p. 94.

Of the general appearance of the Mount itself,* the Author of 'Rome in the Nineteenth Century,' gives the following description.

'The long extension of the Cœlian, the most southern of the Seven Hills, is crossed by the lofty arches of Nero's aqueduct, in majestic masses of ruin. Its abandoned site seems now to be divided between the monks of St. Gregory and of St. John and St. Paul, its sole inhabitants; and the chime of their convent bells, as it summons them to their often repeated prayers by day, or rouses them to their midnight vigils, is the only sound that breaks upon its deep silence and solitude. No human form appears, except that, below the spreading palm, or the dark cypress grove that crowns the brow of the hill, in the garden of St. John and St. Paul, the sable garments of a monk may at times be seen flitting by. The precipitous banks of these grounds are encircled with nameless ruins of wide extent, consisting of arches, recesses, niches, and obscure passages, which vainly rouse curiosity; for their dates, and author, and purpose are alike unknown. Busy conjecture, indeed, has pointed them out as remains of the *Nymphæum* of the luxurious Nero; but this is scarcely in possibility. To whom they may

* According to Tacitus, this Mount was originally called *Querquetulana*, from its oak groves, and received the name of Cœlius from Cœlius Vibenna, an Etrurian chief in alliance with Tarquinius Priscus, who, with his followers, settled in that quarter. It was divided into the *Cœlius Major* and the *Cœliolus* or *Cœlius Minor*.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 371. Dr. Burton supposes the *Cœliolus* to have been the level ground between the Colosseum, the church of St. Clement, and the Esquiline.

have once belonged, we know not; but oblivion has now made them wholly her own.

'Beneath the tower of the convent are some remains of an ancient building, which seems to have been destroyed to make way for its Gothic height. The vestiges which still remain, are evidently of the same age, style, and structure as the Coliseum; they consist, like it, of an arched corridor; and another is said to be underneath the ground we stand on. They are supposed to have formed a part of the *Vivarium*.

'The church of *San Stefano Rotondo*, the reputed temple of Claudius, deserted and moldering to decay, crowns the western extremity of the Cœlian Hill; and upon a wide and turf-covered space, that is called its most eastern summit, stands the great *Basilica* of St. John Lateran. The monuments of modern superstition are here triumphant over the battlemented walls, the falling arches, and the ruined aqueducts of ancient greatness.'*

The cathedral of *S. Giovanni in Laterano*, or, as it is sometimes called, *Basilica Lateranensis*, derives its local name from occupying the site of the palace of Plautius Lateranus, an illustrious Roman, who was put to death by Nero on the charge of being implicated in a conspiracy against that Emperor by Piso and others.† It has also

* Rome, &c. vol. i. pp. 265, 6.—*San Stefano* is completely made up of the spoils of ancient buildings; and the few restorations are miserably executed. It is, perhaps, of the era of Constantine.

† 'Or perhaps,' says Dr. Burton, 'from Claudius Lateranus, who was consul, A. D. 198, and a particular friend of the emperor Septimius Severus.'

been styled, from its founder, *Basilica Constantiniana;* from its precious treasures, *Basilica Aurea;* and again, *Basilica S. Giovanni*, as being dedicated to St. John Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. The Emperor Constantine is said to have conferred the *Domus Laterani* on the Bishop of Rome for his episcopal palace ; and contiguous to it, he built the *Basilica*, taking the spade into his own hands to turn up the soil for a beginning. This pious act is duly commemorated in the morning prayers for the 9th of November. Leo III., at the beginning of the ninth century, added considerably to the old church; and Sergius III., in 903, almost rebuilt it, as it had suffered by an earthquake ten years before. It appears to have been repaired by Nicholas IV. about 1290. At length, in 1308, during the pontificate of Clement V., who reigned at Avignon, the old church was almost entirely destroyed by fire, together with the adjoining palace. That Pope having sent a considerable sum of money for the purpose, it was soon rebuilt; and several of his successors added to and ornamented the new edifice, till, at length, its principal front was finished, under Clement XII., by Alexander Galileo.

'It was reserved, however, for Innocent X. to employ Borromini to transform it into the ugliest and worst proportioned church that ever existed.' He built up the ancient granite columns into enormous piers, which are almost perforated by monstrous niches; and in each of these is placed, 'like a watchman in his box,' an uncouth 'sprawling' colossal statue of a prophet or apostle.* In

* 'The old architecture of the church,' remarks Forsyth,

the vast nave of this church, 'there is nothing,' adds Mr. Woods, 'deserving of praise. If the marble columns were, as is said, too much damaged by the fire to be trusted to for the support of the building, it would have been better to remove them, than to cramp the plan by accommodating the piers to their disposition. As at present they are totally invisible, the lover of antiquity cannot be gratified by their preservation. The front of the church, designed by Galileo, in spite of numerous faults, is certainly impressive. The northern entrance to the transept, is a design of Domenico Fontana: it consists of a double arcade, each of five arches, the lower Doric, the upper Corinthian; a handsome structure in itself, but it recalls the often repeated question, Why employ the appearance of two stories without, when there is only one within?'*

But if, in the body of the church,† we find

'lies concealed in the modern. Its imperial columns, too weak to sustain the load of additions, are now buried in the heart of sacrilegious pillars. These pillars actually start out into niches; every niche holds a prophet; and a new band of white saints and apostles besieges the front of this unfortunate pile:—

Egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors.'

—Forsyth, vol. i. p. 191.

* Woods, vol. i. p. 388.

† At the upper end of the church, in 'a semi-circular sort of gallery,' there is an altar decorated with four ancient columns of gilt bronze, 'said to be the identical columns made by Augustus from the *rostra* of the ships taken in the battle of Actium, and dedicated by Domitian on the Capitol.' They are, at all events, unquestionably ancient. At the other extremity of this gallery, on each side of the

nothing to admire, there is a side chapel belonging to the Corsini family, designed by Galileo, which Mr. Woods pronounces to be highly beautiful; and of which our fair connoisseur gives the following description.

'The Corsini chapel in this church, in the unrivalled beauty and splendour of the ancient marbles which line its walls, the columns which sustain its rich frieze of sculptured bronze, the gilding which emblazons its dome, the polished marbles of its variegated pavement, the precious stones which gem its altars, and the prodigality of magnificence that enshrines the tombs of its Popes, far surpasses all that a transalpine fancy could conceive. It is built in the form of the Greek cross; but the eye is withdrawn from its perhaps too unobtrusive architecture, by the splendour of its decoration, which is, however, remarkably chaste.'*

The tomb of Clement XII., in this chapel, is formed of a noble urn of porphyry, brought from the Pantheon, and called, erroneously, the urn of Marcus Agrippa. It is known, that he was buried in the magnificent mausoleum of his father-in-law, Augustus. The cover of this urn is of modern workmanship; and it is a question, whether the urn was anciently a sarcophagus, or a vase used in the Baths of Agrippa. Roman temples were not used as places of sepulture.

In the middle of the five entrances that lead from the portico or colonnade into the church, is a

organ, are two magnificent ancient columns of *giallo antico*, one of which was taken from the arch of Constantine by Clement XII., who replaced it with one of white marble.

* Rome, &c. vol. ii. p. 231.

bronze door, which came from what is called the Temple of Peace in the Forum. The stars were stuck upon it by Alexander VII.: the rest is antique. The door to the right of it is the *Porta Santa*.* In the portico (added by Sixtus V.), stands a colossal statue of Constantine, found in the Baths erected by that Emperor, and exhibiting, in its indifferent execution, a proof of the degeneracy of the art. The high altar contains the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, encased in silver busts set with jewels. But these are not the most curious of the rare relics preserved in this Basilica. Among those which are also exhibited on Holy Thursday, are, part of the cradle of Christ, some of the barley loaves and fishes, the table of the Last Supper, (at which it seems impossible that more than two people could have sat,) part of the purple robe, and of the reed with which Christ was smitten; part of his seamless vest; some drops of his blood in a phial; some of the water which flowed from his pierced side; some of the sponge offered to him; a piece of the stone of the sepulchre on which the angel sat; and the identical porphyry pillar on which the cock crowed after Peter's denial of his master. There are also, a lock of the Virgin Mary's hair, and a piece of her petticoat; some towels with which the angels wiped St. Lorenzo's face when he was broiling on the gridiron; the rods of Moses and Aaron; and two pieces of the wood of the real ark of the covenant!! †

We are not yet at the end of these marvels.

* So called, because it is opened only during the year of the great jubilee.

† Burton, vol. i. p. 177. Rome, &c. vol. ii p. 235.

Opposite to the *Basilica* is the *Scala Santa*,—a building which takes its name from the precious relic which it encloses: this is no other than the holy staircase on which Our Lord descended from the judgement-seat of Pilate. Part of this, we are told, belonged to the original church, and escaped the fire of 1308.* Sixtus V. added the portico and the four parallel stair-cases by which the penitents descend; for the holy steps must not be used for that purpose, and the ascent must be performed on the knees. The *Scala Santa* is composed of twenty-eight steps of marble; but they were wearing away so fast beneath the genuflexions of the pious, that it was long ago found necessary to case them in wood. This covering has been twice renewed, and the third already exhibits the effects of constant attrition. 'So great is the passage upon it,' says our fair Cicerone, 'that go when you will, except on a grand *festa*, you cannot fail to see various sinners creeping up it on their knees, repeating on every step a paternoster and an ave-maria. On the Fridays during Lent, crowds go up. I have myself, more than once, seen princes of royal blood

* This, after its escaping the destruction of Jerusalem, would be no miracle worth mentioning. In the Tribune, however, are four pointed arches; and an inscription states, that that part of the church was erected by Nicholas IV., who reigned from 1288 to 1292; so that it must be a portion of the church which escaped the fire of 1308. The *Santa Scala* seems to have shared in the good fortune. The Author of Rome in the Nineteenth Century affirms, however, we know not on what authority, that it had remained down to the time of Sixtus V. in the obscurity of the old Lateran palace, where people walked up and down it with irreverent insensibility, and that when that pontiff rebuilt the palace, he brought its forgotten virtues to light.

slowly working their way up on their knees, their rosary in their hands.* I am told, the ascenders of this Holy Staircase gain 3000 years' indulgence every time of mounting. But what temptation is that, in a church where indulgencies for 39,000 years may be bought on the *festa* of the patron saint!

'At the top of the Staircase is the *Sancta Sanctorum*,—a little dark-looking, square hole with an iron-grated window, in the centre of the house; so holy, that no woman is ever admitted into it. It contains an altar, at which even the Pope himself may not perform mass,... having for an altar-piece, a head of Christ, painted by the joint hand of St. Luke and some angels; and yet, people that have seen it, maintain it to be a most hideous piece of work.

'On the outside of the *Sancta Sanctorum* is suspended a collection of votive pictures, chiefly commemorative of the hair-breadth escapes from divers perils, effected by the agency of the miraculous image within. Hearts, hands, heads, legs, and

* This custom is not confined to these Holy Stairs. The same sight may be witnessed, though less frequently, on the lofty and steep flight of steps leading to the convent of *Ara-cœli* on the Capitoline. The practice is, like most of the Romish ceremonies, a superstition of pagan origin. In this same manner, Julius Cæsar approached the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; and in the same posture, the Roman matron was taught to do penance by the priests of Cybele or Isis.

——————'*Superbi*
Totum regis agrum, nuda ac tremebunda cruentis
Erepet genibus.'—Juvenal, Sat. vi. 525.

See Blunt's Vestiges, pp. 177, 8.

arms without number are to be seen in almost every church, in testimony of the miraculous cures worked by the image or shrine to which they are appended; but these are more miraculous than usual.*

'Near this building stands the *Triclinium* of St. Leo III.; a pompous and absurd name, which denotes nothing more than some ugly, old mosaic figures, the work of the low ages, that were taken from the dining-room of that saint in the old Lateran palace, when it was rebuilt by Sixtus V., and posted up into a great high tribune built on purpose for them.'†

The most ancient structure connected with this *Basilica*, is the Baptistery, attributed to the Emperor Constantine; a small octagonal building

* Votive pictures are another relic of heathenism, as are votive offerings and votive temples.—See p. 119 of our second volume; also, Blunt's Vestiges, pp. 95, 102, 105. To the former, Horace refers, Od. i. v. 13.

——— '*Me, tabula sacer*
Votiva paries indicat.'

An absurd legend is connected with the angelic painting in question, respecting its miraculous self-transportation from Constantinople; but it is not worth transcribing. Leo, the iconoclastic emperor, warred not against paintings.

† Rome, &c. vol. ii. pp. 236–8. Extremely rude as it is in design, this mosaic is valuable from its antiquity. It represents Our Saviour as giving the keys to St. Peter with one hand, and, with the other, a standard to a crowned prince, bearing the inscription, Constantine V. That Emperor began his reign A.D. 780; and it has been inferred, that the authority of the Greek emperors over Rome had not at that time entirely ceased. The mosaic proves, too, in some degree, Dr. Burton remarks, that in the ninth century, painting 'must have been in some state of progress towards the perfection which it afterwards attained.'—Burton, vol. ii. p. 178.

crowned with a lantern of the same form. It is perfectly plain on the outside; but in the interior, eight noble columns of porphyry (but of indifferent workmanship) support a cornice, which serves as a base for eight little columns of white marble, having a very incongruous and paltry effect. Two large and very beautiful columns, one on each side of the original entrance, are so hidden in the wall as to be scarcely discernible. 'Like all Constantine's works,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'this is but a compilation of classical spoils; a mere thief of antiquity. How august must the temple have been, which resigned those two stupendous columns of porphyry to patch the brick wall of this ecclesiastical farrago!' Dr. Burton, however, doubts its being, in its present form, a building of the fourth century; and he states, that Palladio considered it to be of more modern date. The exterior is doubtless ancient; and the vestibule on the side towards the church, Mr. Woods says, is of Constantine's time. The font is a bath sunk below the pavement, and occupying a large proportion of the building.* In fact, the edifice is described by Forsyth as blending the temple with the bath; and nothing is more probable than that, agreeably to the general system of accommodation by which the temples, the rites, and the superstitions of heathenism, were adopted by a corrupt church, the favourite luxury of the Romans should be the model of the Baptistery. This font is used

* 'Anastasius describes the font as being of porphyry and covered entirely, both within and without, with silver, of which the weight was 3008 *lb.* In the middle of the font was a column of porphyry.'—Burton, vol. ii. p. 173.

only on the Saturday before Easter, for baptizing Jews or other infidels who have been professedly converted.

The Lateran palace, for so many ages the residence of the Popes, was rebuilt, in its present magnificent form, by Sixtus V.; and in 1693, Innocent XII. turned it into a hospital for the poor. In front of the *Basilica* stands an Egyptian obelisk, the loftiest in Rome. It is of one solid block of granite, 109 feet high without the base and pedestal, and 11 feet broad at the bottom, and is covered with hieroglyphics. It was brought from Thebes by order of the Emperor Constantius; but he died (A.D. 361) before it had left Alexandria. It completed the voyage in the reign of Julian, and was towed up the Tiber within three miles of Rome; whence it was transported by land to the *Circus Maximus.* When Sixtus V. caused it to be removed to its present situation in 1588, it was broken into three pieces, and lay 16 or 17 feet below the surface of the soil, which, by the ruin of the drains, had become a marsh.*

In the piazza before this Church, are seen some antique arches, the remains of Nero's aqueduct. The *Porta S. Giovanni*, which takes its name from the cathedral, is the representative of the ancient *Porta Cœlimontana;* and to the left of it are remains of the *Porta Asinaria.* Turning down the street to the right of St. John's Gate, and following the city wall, the traveller sees before him the *Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.*

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 259—262. Cadell, vol. i. p. 307.

This church, or rather that which originally stood here, was erected by Constantine, or by the Empress Helena, on the ruins of a large edifice called *Sessorium*, whence it took the name of *Basilica Sessoriana*. It owes its present dedicatory appellation to its having been made by the same Empress the depository of a third part of the true cross. There were also placed here, 'two of the thorns, one of the thirty pieces of silver, the superscription, and part of the cross of the good thief!' The church was also styled 'in Jerusalem,' because some soil was brought from the holy land at the same time, part of which was placed underneath the church, and part over the roof. It had become greatly dilapidated, when repaired by Gregory II. in the eighth century, and was rebuilt by Lucius II. in the twelfth. The present *façade* was added by Benedict XIV. in 1744, when some of the columns were built up into piers to support the vaulted roof. Four on each side are still exposed: they are of oriental granite. In the vestibule are two columns of a beautiful iron-grey marble, called *marmo bigio*. Two of the columns that support the canopy of the altar, are of the rare marble called *occhio di pavone* (peacock's eye); and beneath the altar, the beautiful *lavacrum* or bath of some ancient Roman, formed out of one block of basalt, and adorned with four lions' heads, serves as a sarcophagus supposed to contain the remains of Saints Cæsareo and Anastasius, martyrs. The church is on a small scale, consisting of a nave with side-aisles, and contains nothing very remarkable, unless it be the following relics: 'the

finger which St. Thomas thrust into Our Saviour's side; part of the sponge on which the vinegar was put; part of the vest without a seam; part of the hair and veil of the Virgin Mary; some earth from Calvary, stained with Christ's blood; part of the stone on which the angel stood when he saluted Mary; some of the manna; part of Aaron's rod which budded; a tooth of St. Peter; and some bones of St. Thomas à Becket.'*

The Convent of the *Santa Croce*, deserted by its monks, is now converted into a *Reclusorio* for women, about 500 in number. No other building now stands on the lonely expanse of this part of the Esquiline hill; although various ruins (among which is one called the *Sessorium*) shew that it was once much more populous. To the left of the cathedral, between the *Porta Maggiore* and *S. Giovanni*, is seen the remains of the *Amphitheatrum Castrense*, which is referred to by Dr. Burton as an undoubted relic of the ancient walls. 'Like the *Castrum Prætorium*, it probably existed before, and was taken into the line. The date of this cannot be accurately known. It is all of brick, even the Corinthian pillars, and seems to have been a rude structure sufficient for the amusement of the soldiers for whom it was built.'† Near it, without the walls, are vestiges of a circus ascribed to Elagabalus and Aurelian. An obelisk of granite, which formerly stood in the centre,

* Burton, vol. ii. pp. 185—187. In this church, the Pope was wont to consecrate the golden rose annually transmitted to some sovereign or other illustrious personage; a custom which is said to date from the fifth century.

† Burton, vol. i. p. 83.

now lies, broken into two pieces, in the gardens of the Vatican.

Near the *Porta Maggiore*, is seen a considerable portion of the Claudian Aqueduct, which here entered the city, and the arches of which may be traced from hence to St. John Lateran, over parts of the Cœlian hill, and so to the Aventine mount. Two channels for the different streams may be observed, one above the other. A portion of the aqueduct has here been made to serve as part of the ancient wall. From the abrupt angles which the wall makes where the aqueduct begins and terminates, Dr. Burton infers, that Aurelian took advantage of a building already existing, and that it was not applied to the purpose of conveying water after it was built. The *Porta Maggiore* is built with blocks of marble without cement, and consists of four large arches with Ionic columns. Its solidity is such, that it has served as a fortress. On the outside is an edifice added in the dark ages for greater defence. This monument has lost much of its strength, since the walls were pierced, under Sixtus V., for the conveyance of the *Acqua Felice* to the Fountain of Moses at Termini.

From this gate, a high street leads directly to the *Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore.* This cathedral, the third in rank, one of the four that have a holy door, and the principal church dedicated to the Virgin, stands on the higher of the two summits of the Esquiline, and is believed to occupy the site of the ancient temple and grove of Juno Lucina.* It is also known by the name of *Sta.*

* The origin of this opinion appears to be, the discovery

Maria ad Nives, from a vision which Pope Liberius, and John, Patrician of Rome, had of a miraculous fall of snow, which extended as far as the limits of the present church,—a legend represented in one of the chapels.* It is moreover called, from its founder, *Basilica Liberiana*. The original edifice was dedicated in 352. In 432, it was rebuilt by Sixtus III.; but whether the original distribution was preserved, must be considered as doubtful.† The portico in front was added by Eugenius III. in 1150. In 1189, Nicholas IV. erected the tribune, and adorned it with mosaics. It was repaired by Gregory XIII. in 1575. The present front was added by Benedict XIV. in 1741; at which period, not only all the internal finishings were renewed, but the columns of the nave were repolished, and reduced to one size and length, uniform Attic bases and Ionic capitals being ap-

of a black and white mosaic pavement at an inconsiderable depth below the pavement of the church, during some alterations, made in the pontificate of Benedict XIV. The grove of Juno appears, however, to have been in the valley.

'*Monte sub Esquilio multis inciduus annis*
Junonis magnæ nomine lucus erat.'

Ovid. Fast. II. 435.

* According to Vasi's version of the legend, the snow precisely covered the space which the church was to occupy.

† The fall of snow, Mr. Woods remarks, is probably an invention of the middle ages, and the legend affords no reason to suppose that the original plan was exactly preserved. It was possibly invented to account for the irregularity of the external shape of the edifice, which, according to the Author of Rome in the Nineteenth Century, approaches nearer to a triangle, than to any other figure. 'It has more faces than Janus, and they resemble each other in nothing but their ugliness.'

plied to them. These columns, to which the church owes its chief beauty, are supposed to have belonged to the Temple of Juno Lucina. Sixtus V. displaced two of the northern range of the columns, to make a larger opening to the chapel which he erected; and Benedict XIV. made a similar interruption in the opposite range, to form a correspondent opening.

Such is the history of the edifice. Its architecture is thus described by Mr. Woods. 'Internally, a single row of marble columns on each side, divides the nave from the side-aisles. These columns sustain a continued entablature; but they are too small in proportion to the rest of the building; and the range of pilasters over them is consequently too high. The general proportion of the room is, perhaps, a little too long, and a little too low. Another fault arises from the comparatively recent alteration which has interrupted the perspective of the ranges of columns, by arched openings into the side chapels. The nave is above 50 feet wide, (9 feet more than that of our St. Paul's) and about 280 feet long; and except for this interruption, exhibits an unbroken range of parts, all uniting into one rich and harmonious design. The side-aisles are vaulted, which is bad: a continued vault will always look too heavy for columns; and besides, it does not correspond to the flat cieling of the nave. This cieling is in five panels in width, without irregularities, nobly disposed, and with a richness of carving and gilding suited to its character.'* Upon the whole, Mr.

* This cieling is curious as being gilt (A.D. 1500) with

Woods pronounces this to be 'one of the finest churches in the world, both for the beauty of the design and the perfection of materials.' The exterior, however, a work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, must be excepted from this praise. 'The front is contemptible; the back, erected under the direction of Rainaldi, has considerable merit, and the character of a public building, but not of a church.'* Nobody could suspect it of being such, we are told, 'but for the deformity of an old brick belfry, which sticks up in a singularly awkward position from the roof,'—a remnant, probably, of the original edifice. In the upper portico, as Vasi calls it, is the balcony whence the Pope delivers his benediction.

Among the chapels, that of the Borghese family deserves examination for the surpassing richness of its decorations. It is styled by Vasi, the most magnificent in Rome. It contains, moreover, as an altar-piece, a miraculous painting of the Virgin, by St. Luke; one of the seven performances ascribed to that Evangelist in Rome.† That of

the first gold brought from Peru, which was presented to the Pope by Ferdinand and Isabella.—Burton, vol. ii. p. 182.

* Woods, vol. i. pp. 397, 8.—'It is remarkable,' the Author observes, 'that, in all the experiments the Romans have made in architecture, and the magnificence with which they have executed their undertakings, they have never hit even upon a moderately good design for the outside of a church.'

† The notion that St. Luke was a painter as well as a physician, can be traced up to the fifth century. Eudosia, the queen of Theodosius II., sent from her exile at Jerusalem, about A.D. 448, to Pulcheria, the emperor's sister

Sixtus V. from the design of Fontana, is also a very fine one; it contains the tomb of that pontiff, whose body, unchanged by death, still works unceasing miracles.

In front of the church is one of the handsomest Corinthian pillars any where to be seen. It was brought from the (supposed) Temple of Peace in the Forum, and was erected here by Paul V. in 1513, who placed upon it the bronze statue of the Virgin. It is of white marble, 47 feet high without the pedestal and capital. Not far from this is another little pillar of very mean architecture, surmounted by a cross, erected as a memorial of the absolution given by Clement VIII. to Henry IV. of France, in 1595, on his embracing the Romish faith.* In the great square before another front of the church, stands one of the Egyptian obelisks that stood before the Mausoleum of Augustus, the companion to that on *Monte Cavallo.* Sixtus V. erected this in its present situation in 1587. They are of red granite, without hieroglyphics.

On the slope of the Esquiline, in the road from St. John Lateran to the Coliseum, may be seen

a portrait of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke.—Burton, vol. ii. p. 184. There is, however, nothing in the shape of historical evidence or credible testimony in support of the legend.—See Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. v. p. 358.

* 'Henry IV. himself had the pillar erected, with this inscription on the principal part of it: "*In hoc signo vinces.*" This passed at first for very Catholic, until it was observed, that the part on which the inscription is placed, is shaped in the form of a cannon, and that he had really attributed to his artillery, what they had taken to be addressed to Heaven.'—Spence's Anecdotes, p. 90.—Burton, vol. ii. p. 185.

one of the oldest churches in Rome, St. Clements; according to an inscription on it, the only one which preserves the form of the ancient *Basilica.* 'Many, however,' says Dr. Burton, 'are very much like it, except that, in this, there is an enclosure of marble round the altar, (imitated from the *cella* of the Pagan temples,) and two marble *ambones* or pulpits. In other respects, it is much the same with all the old churches in Rome: that is, it is divided into three aisles, and has a semi-circular tribune or recess behind the altar.'* The original foundation of this church is attributed to the time of Constantine; and in 417, Celestius was condemned in it by Pope St. Zosimus. It was repaired, in 772, by Adrian I., to whom, Mr. Woods thinks, the '*prothyron*, or little anti-porch,' which leads into the fore-court, may be ascribed. This court, 58 feet by 48, is surrounded with porticoes resting on small granite columns, and has a very pleasing effect. The nave of the church is formed, as usual, by plundered columns of different materials. The tesselated pavement is also apparently very ancient. The circular presbytery, of marble, and the altar and *apsis* behind it, are as they were left in the twelfth century, when Cardinal Anastasius, under Pope Honorius II., restored the building, and ornamented the *apsis* with mosaics.†

In the chapel *della Passione*, attached to this church, there are some frescoes by Masaccio, who died in 1443; the value and interest of which, however, as early specimens of reviving Art, are considered as materially lessened by their having

* Burton, vol. ii. p. 214. † Woods, vol. i. p. 400.

lately been retouched. This is certainly the fact with regard to his St. Catharine; but the Evangelists on the roof of the chapel, are stated to have escaped. These undoubted works of the great Florentine are marked with the stiffness, the ignorance of perspective and grouping, characteristic of those barbarous times; but they are, for the age, wonderful productions.

But the church in which, more than in any other, the form of the ancient civil *basilica* is thought to be preserved, is that of *Sta. Agnese fuori le Mura*, supposed to have been built by Constantine, and, if so, not inferior in antiquity to St. Clement's. It stands in the *Via Nomentana*, about a mile from the *Porta Pia;* and having been built on the level of the Catacombs in which the body of the Saint is said to have been found, is considerably below the level of the earth. The visiter descends into it by a flight of 48 marble steps. Numerous inscriptions are placed in the walls of this staircase; and some bas-reliefs were found here.* The central part of the church is a parallelogram, surrounded on three sides by two stories of columns, with an *apsis* or tribune at the extremity, the height of which is about equal to the width of the nave. The ceiling is flat; and both the disposition and the proportions of the edifice, Mr. Woods thought highly beautiful. The peculiar resemblance to the ancient *basilicas*, is supposed to consist in the double stories

* From the sides of this stair were taken the bas-reliefs of Perseus delivering Andromeda, and Endymion sleeping, now in the *Palazzo Spada;* duplicates of those in the Capitol.

of aisles, and in the transverse range of columns.* The upper galleries of the civil *basilicas* were occupied by the audience; as, in the religious assemblies of the early Christians, they are said to have been by the women. Some of the columns are very beautiful. Among them are two of granite, two of *porta-santa* marble,† and some of *pavonazzo*. Four porphyry pillars support the canopy over the altar, which are highly prized.

The statue of St. Agnes which adorns the high altar, is 'an eked-out ancient *torso* of oriental alabaster;' a beautiful material, but wholly unfit for the purpose of sculpture. In one of the chapels, immediately behind an ancient *candelabrum*, of marble, there is a sculptured 'Head of Christ,' ascribed to Michael Angelo.

At a very short distance from this church stands a circular building, which has been called a temple of Bacchus; while, by other learned writers, it is thought to have been first erected as a baptistery to the neighbouring church of St. Agnes, and to have been afterwards converted by Constantine

* Neither of these circumstances, Mr. Woods remarks, is found in St. Paul's, in the ancient St. Peter's, or in St. John Lateran, all of which are said to have been built precisely on the model of the ancient *basilica*. 'I suppose, nevertheless,' he adds, 'that the comparison is correct, since it is thus exemplified at Pompeii; and Vitruvius indicates two stories on the sides of a *basilica*, and makes no mention of any thing like a transept, unless the *chalcidicum* be considered as one.'—Woods, vol. i. p. 395. Mr. Forsyth questions whether the *chalcidicum* was open like our transept: nothing of the kind appears in the Emilian *basilica*, carved out on the old plan of Rome.

† So called as being the marble employed in the *Porta Santa* at St. Peter's.

into a mausoleum for his daughter, to whom, under the title of *Santa Costanza*, it is now dedicated as a church. There is evidence, that many of that Emperor's family were interred in a mausoleum on this road. Some uncertainty, however, seems to be thrown upon its original purpose, by the circumstance of its occupying a distinguished and symmetrical position in a large enclosed area, of an oblong form, with rounded ends, which has been called a *hippodrome*, and which does not appear suitable for a mere court to this building. It is now a vineyard, and the high and broken walls, overgrown with luxuriant ivy, have a very picturesque appearance. Of the Mausoleum of *Sta. Costanza*, all the external ornaments have disappeared. 'Internally, we have a cupola resting on twenty-four columns, which are placed in pairs on the *radii* of the circle, and surrounded with an aisle. Twenty of them are of grey, and four of red granite. The capitals are Composite, not very good, but evidently, as well as the columns, the spoils of some more ancient building; except one or two, which serve to shew the incompetency of the artists of the time of Constantine. The columns support a clumsy entablature, from which spring the arches: at a considerable space above these, is the dome. The effect is not good: the columns are too small and too far apart, and not beautiful either in themselves or in their bases and capitals.'* The walls are ornamented with some ancient mosaics, the subjects of which relate to the vintage. A large sarcophagus of red porphyry

* Woods, vol. i. p. 395.

sculptured with the vine, and supposed to contain the ashes of the daughter of Constantine, was found here, but is now in the Vatican.

The *Basilica di San Lorenzo*, which stands about a mile from the gate to which it gives name, on the road to Tivoli, is another edifice ascribed to Constantine; and this and the church of *Sta. Agnese* are considered by Mr. Woods as decidedly the most interesting monuments of the Lower Empire, which exist in the neighbourhood of Rome. Its real founder, however, was Galla Placidia, the sister of Honorius; and it was restored from the foundations before 590, by Pelagius II. Its original form was similar to that of St. Agnes; but Adrian I., about 772, stopped up the old door-way, and took down the tribune, to join the old building to a new nave which he erected; thus completely reversing the church, and placing the altar before the ancient entrance. To this period, Mr. Woods thinks, we may perhaps refer the porch, consisting of six antique pillars, (four of them twisted,) the frieze ornamented with circles of mosaic work nearly according with that of the cloisters of St. Paul, and of St. John Lateran. The shafts of the columns are well executed, but the capitals are badly worked.* The church has been restored, however, by several popes; and it underwent extensive alteration in 1647, so that it is difficult to assign any part to a certain date.

The nave is divided from the side-aisles by twenty-two columns of Egyptian and oriental gra-

* Woods, vol. i. p. 396.

nite and *cipolino*, with Ionic capitals, differing in size, form, and workmanship. Upon the volute of one of them may be seen sculptured a lizard and a frog, of which a passage in Pliny appears to afford an explanation that would prove this column to have been taken from the Portico of Octavia.* On each side of the nave is a marble pulpit or *ambo*, such as are to be seen only in the oldest churches of Rome.

The most interesting as well as the most ancient part of the cathedral, is the present choir or tribune, where are seen ten antique magnificent columns, buried almost half way up their shafts beneath the pavement. Two of them are of Greek marble with Composite capitals: the rest are of a white veined marble with beautiful Corinthian capitals, and are probably in their original places. They appear to have formed part of the peristyle of an ancient temple; 'and if it be true,' says Dr. Burton, 'that there was a temple of Neptune here, I should be inclined to suppose that, instead of building a new church,' the Imperial founder 'consecrated a Pagan temple.' The entablature is made up of fragments, among which may be traced pieces of a door-jamb with a rich and bold scroll, and parts

* Pliny relates, that Saurus and Batrachus, two Spartan architects, were employed to build the Portico of Metellus (afterwards that of Octavia), and that, not being permitted to inscribe their names on the building, they carved a lizard and a frog in the volutes of the columns, thus expressing their names in hieroglyphic.—This column is the eighth on the right hand of the nave. Nibby adduces other reasons for supposing that this church was partly built out of the spoils of the Portico.—See Burton, vol. ii. p. 200.

of a small frieze of great beauty; but there is not the smallest fragment corresponding to the columns. Above this is a gallery of twelve smaller columns, also antique, ten of violet marble, and two of green porphyry.

Under the high altar are deposited the alleged remains of St. Lawrence and St. Stephen; and among the relics is shewn one of the stones with which the Proto-martyr was slain. The scene of St. Lawrence's martyrdom is laid in the Baths of Olympias, where now stands the church of *S. Lorenzo in Panisperna.** Among the other curiosities of this *Basilica* we find mentioned, 'two Christian tombs adorned with Bacchanalian images;' and, near the entrance, an ancient sarcophagus, containing the bones of an old Cardinal, on which is beautifully sculptured in bas-relief, a Roman marriage. In the mosaic pavement of the church, are seen two Roman soldiers, of the barbarous ages, on horseback,—'most extraordinary figures.' In the portico are some frescoes of the thirteenth century, executed in the time of Honorius III., and representing, among other subjects, the Coronation of Peter Courtenay as Emperor of the East, by that Pope, in 1216. There is a subterranean chapel, endowed by several Popes with certain extraordinary privileges, relating to the liberation of souls from purgatory in virtue of the masses performed here.† It forms

* Part of the gridiron is said to be preserved in the church. The story is as well attested, Dr. Burton says, as that of any of the Romish martyrs. It occurred August 10, A.D. 256.

† 'I am acquainted with a Roman lady who gave up annually one-half of her income for many years to the

an entrance to extensive catacombs, called the Cemetery of *Sta. Cyriaca*, where the body of S. Lorenzo is said to have been buried. Vasi describes it as a low and irregular gallery, about fifteen feet beneath the surface of the ground, and extending, as is said, as far as the church of St. Agnes, a distance of two miles. 'On the side are rude, ill-formed shelves, on which the bodies of the primitive Christians were deposited.'

The entrance to the most extensive catacombs about Rome, is under the *Basilica* of S. Sebastian, about two miles out of the gate of the same name. They consist, Mr. Woods says, 'of crooked, winding passages in *tufo* and *pozzolana*, in three stories, which, as the levels are not always exactly preserved, are easily made into seven by those who wish to increase the appearance of the marvellous. The niches for the bodies are mere square recesses, about the length of the human body, and just big enough to receive it; but there are some larger ones, forming an arch, at the bottom of which the body was placed. Wherever these larger niches are found, there is a little apartment, the rude sides of which have been coated with stucco.'*

There seems no reason to doubt that these catacombs, as well as those of Naples, Alexandria, and Paris, were originally quarries or excavations

monks of this convent, for masses to free the soul of her son.'—Rome, &c., vol. ii. p. 295.

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 42. The Author of Rome, &c., asserts, that almost all the cavities seem to be for the bodies of children, being of the ordinary size of an infant's grave.

for the purpose of procuring stone.* ‘ Cicero,’ Dr. Burton remarks, ‘ mentions some *arenariæ* (or sand-pits) not far from the Esquiline Gate, which may have been these; and when, in his defence of Milo, he speaks of a spot on the Appian road, which was a hiding-place and receptacle for thieves, he perhaps alluded to these catacombs. There seems sufficient evidence to induce us to believe, that these subterranean excavations were used by the Christians to hide themselves from their persecutors.’ † At what period they were first used as cemeteries, can only be conjectured. These catacombs are called the Cemetery of St. Callixtus, having been, according to his Biographer, Anastasius, constructed by that Pope at the beginning of the third century; which can mean only that the cemetery was first consecrated by this bishop as a place of Christian burial. They appear to have been used, however, long before the Christian era, and are supposed to be alluded to by Horace, Varro, and others, under the name of *Puticuli.* The legend, that fourteen popes and 170,000 Christian martyrs were buried here, is too absurd to merit notice, except as connected with the curious fact, that all the cavities are now empty; not a bone is to be seen; the whole having been carried off, the visiter is told,

* The catacombs of Alexandria are, in some places, like those of the cemetery of S. Callixtus, in three stories.—Mod. Trav., vol. v. pp. 195—201. See also, for a description of other sepulchral excavations, *Ib.* vol. i. p. 164; vol. ii. pp. 253, 258; vol. iii. p. 227; vol. iv. p. 355; vol. vi. p. 227; vol. xx. p. 124.

† Burton, vol. ii. p. 206.

as precious relics! The most remarkable circumstance, however, is the prodigious extent of these excavations, which branch out in various directions, and are *said* to have been explored to the distance of above fifteen miles, or as far as Ostia. The lowest computation of their extent, wears a fabulous character. In point of grandeur, these catacombs are far inferior to those of Naples; but the most striking necropolis of this description, is said to be the *Grotta di S. Giovanni* at Syracuse. That of *El Karjeh*, in the Great Oasis, is remarkable as exhibiting the clearest evidence of being used in early times as a place of Christian worship; which is supposed to have been the case also with the Alexandrian catacombs.

The *Basilica* of S. Sebastian has nothing in its architecture deserving of notice. The original edifice is supposed to have been erected by Constantine, and dedicated by Pope St. Silvester; but, after undergoing various repairs, it was rebuilt, in 1611, by a Cardinal of the Borghese family, from the designs of Flaminio Ponzio. In a subterranean chapel, there is a bust of S. Sebastian, by Bernini, which is much admired.

For the sake of describing these six Basilicas, we have deviated from all topographical arrangement, and wandered beyond the confines of the ancient city. There are a few objects of interest, however, in this direction, which may as well be noticed in this place, before we resume and complete our description of the topography of Ancient Rome.

At a short distance from the *Basilica* of S. Sebastian, there are some ancient remains which

have not a little perplexed the Roman antiquaries. They have generally been supposed to have had some relation to the adjacent Circus, with which, however, Mr. Woods thinks, this building had no connexion. ' It consists of a round edifice enclosed in a court. The central building is formed by a circular wall, with an octagonal pier in the middle, supporting a vault; the whole forming doubtless the basement of a large domed hall which no longer exists. The work is of rubble, which, within the vault, is faced with bricks laid regularly, but with a great deal of mortar: the vault is altogether of rubble. There are niches in the middle pier, and its octagonal form seems not essential, since the vault rises upon a circle described within it. The surrounding wall of the court is built of alternate layers of brick and stone, or rather tufo. Within it, are remains of piers formed of bricks only; and there are some vestiges of the vaulting with which the intervening space was covered, forming a continued arcade round three sides of the court.'*

This building was formerly known under the name of the *Torre de' Borgiani*, and is supposed to have been used as a fortress by the Borgia family, during the civil wars of the middle ages. It is now called the *Scuderie del Circo di Caracalla*, from the notion that the enclosed area served as stables for the horses used in the adjacent circus, and the central building as *carceres* or car-houses. The rotondo is moreover supposed to have been the temple in which were contained

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 43.

the statues of the gods who were carried into the circus before the races began.* Its architecture, however, is apparently of earlier date than the Circus. It now supports a wretched sort of *casino* tenanted by the *vignaiuoli* (vine-dressers).

The Circus itself is a very interesting ruin, as exhibiting, more perfectly than any other, the original arrangement of these structures. The surrounding walls are constructed, like those of the court of the edifice just described, of alternate layers of brick and small stones. The continued vault which supported the seats, is of rubble, but with large earthen vases in the upper part, to lighten the work.† The line of *carceres*, which formed one end, is oblique and curved, in order, it is supposed, to put all the chariots upon an equality in starting; and the *spina*, instead of running along the middle of the *arena*, parallel with the sides, is much nearer the left side, and is so disposed that the passage gets narrower through its whole progress. At the semi-circular end is the *Porta Triumphalis*, through which the victor left the circus. Recent excavations shew, however, that there were steps at this gate, and that it could not therefore have been for the passage of the triumphal charioteers. The obelisk which now embellishes the *Piazza Navona*, once decorated the *spina* of this area. Two towers at the end where the *carceres* stood, are supposed to

* Vasi. Rome, &c., vol. ii. p. 29.

† This is the opinion of Mr. Woods, as well as of Nibby. Dr. Burton, however, remarks, that it seems quite certain, that hollow vessels were placed in the walls of theatres for the sake of the sound.—See Burton, vol. ii. p. 30.

have been destined for the trumpeters and the umpires or judges. A tower on the right side is also standing, which may be fancied to have been an Imperial station; and there are remains of one nearly facing it.*

The dimensions of this Circus are, according to Dr. Burton, 1678 feet in length and 435 in breadth;† and it is calculated that it could contain 20,000 spectators on ten rows of seats. There is no authority for the opinion which makes it the Circus of Caracalla; others have ascribed it to Gallienus; but an inscription discovered in 1825, has led the antiquaries to give it to Maxentius.‡

Of the various structures of this description which Old Rome contained, this alone remains. The *Circus Maximus*, founded by Tarquinius Priscus, rebuilt during the Republic, and enlarged by successive Emperors,§ exists but in

* Woods, vol. ii. pp. 43, 4. Rome, &c., vol. ii. pp. 25—28.

† In Vasi, 1641 long, and 432 wide. The *Circus Maximus* was above 3 *stadia* in length, and could contain, according to Pliny, 260,000, according to P. Victor, 385,000 persons.

‡ This inscription, now placed over the principal gate, informs us that it was dedicated to Romulus, the son of Massentius.—Nibby, *Itin. di Roma*, tom. ii. f. 542.

§ Ammianus, in the fourth century, gives a lively description of the fondness of the Romans for the spectacles of the Circus. 'The people spend all their earnings in drinking and gaming, in spectacles, amusements, and shows. The *Circus Maximus* is their temple, their dwelling-house, their public meeting, and all their hopes.... When the wished-for day of the equestrian games arrives, before sun-rise all run headlong to the spot, passing in swiftness the chariots that are to run, upon the success of which their wishes are so divided, that many pass the night without sleep.' Cited by Burton, vol. i. p. 26. A full

name: only a few shapeless masses of brick, which supported the seats, are to be seen. Of the Flaminian Circus, which stood in the *Campus Martius*, without the city, no trace remains; but the church of *S. Caterina de' Funari* is believed to stand about the middle of its area. In the *Piazza Navona*, we may trace the exact form of the *Circus Agonalis*, supposed to have been built by the Emperor Alexander Severus; * and even the round end is not lost. The length is about 750 feet. 'On some occasions, chariot races are still performed here in the ancient fashion; and on Saturdays and Sundays, in the month of August, it is covered with water, to provide a remedy against the intense heat. In the middle of the area are three fountains: that by Bernini is among the finest in Rome.' Between the Quirinal and Pincian hills was another Circus, in the gardens of Sallust, which some antiquaries have called the *Circus Apollinaris*, and of which some slight vestiges may be traced not far from the *Porta Pia*. The Egyptian obelisk in front of the church of *La Trinità de' Monti*, stood in this circus. The Circus of Flora is supposed, on very uncertain data, to have been situated between the Esquiline and the Viminal hills, near the *Piazza Barberini*. The Circus of Nero, in which, after the conflagration of Rome, the Imperial incendiary is said to have amused himself with torturing the Christians, occupied part of the site of St. Peter's, and was destroyed

description of the Circus and its games, is furnished by the learned Author.

* Burton, vol. ii. p. 35.—Nardini ridicules, but Dr. Burton is inclined to admit, the etymology which deduces Navona, by corruption, from Nagona.

by Constantine when he founded the old basilica. The Circus of Hadrian was in the meadows behind the Castle of St. Angelo; and some remains of a ninth, ascribed to Elagabalus, and to Aurelian, may be seen outside of the walls, near the *Amphitheatrum Castrense.* The passion of the Roman people for the games of the circus,* which strengthened with the decline of the empire and the corruption of morals, is strikingly evinced by the number of these edifices. The modern Romans content themselves with the Carnival races in the Corso and the Piazza Navona. Still, some vestiges of the ancient *Floralia* are said to be preserved in the May-day festival as kept by the common people in the neighbourhood of the city, and particularly at the grotto of Egeria.

To return to the Appian Way. Close on the outside of the supposed Prætorian Stables, (or *Mutatorium*, or *Torre de' Borgiani*,) is a sepulchre long attributed to the Servilian family; but, as the burial-place of that family has since been found at a considerable distance, and determined by inscriptions, this remains at present without a name. 'It is of a square form, covered, not with a proper vault, but pyramidally on the principle of the *dos d'âne.* There are, however, rough arches to some of the openings. A passage is carried all round the building in the thickness of the walls. The whole construction is certainly very singular, and appears to be of high antiquity.'†

* ——— '*Atque duas tantum res anxius optat,*
Panem et Circenses.' Juvenal, Sat. x. 80.

† Woods, vol. i. p. 43.—The tomb of the Servilian family is further on the Appian Way, and its broken fragments have been reconstructed by the Marquis Canova.

Cicero mentions the tomb of several families upon this road, most of which the antiquaries have succeeded in identifying. Among these, the tomb of the Scipios is mentioned as being without the *Porta Capena;* and the ruin which stands at a short distance from the *Porta S. Sebastiano*, opposite the little church of '*Domine-quo-vadis*,' was supposed to be the remains of this tomb, until, in 1780, the true tomb of the Scipio family was accidentally discovered, by a man digging in a vineyard to the left of the Appian road, between the site of the ancient *Porta Capena* and the modern gate of St. Sebastian, and *within* the wall of Aurelian. The ruins are generally mere shapeless masses of rubble. Some, however, are larger, and contain vaulted chambers; others are domed. The figure, dimensions, and materials of the more perfect remains, all vary. The most remarkable of these is on an eminence overlooking the Circus of Caracalla, and is vulgarly called *Capo di Bove*, from the figure of an ox's head, the heraldic badge of the Gaetani family, who were for some time masters of the place, after the tomb had been converted into a fortress.† The old

• This circumstance affords a curious illustration of the uncertainty attaching to the decisions of antiquaries. An inscription to the memory of one of the Scipio family, found, above a century ago, in this same vineyard, had been pronounced by the celebrated Maffei and other antiquaries of the day to be an evident forgery!—See Hobhouse's Illustrations, p. 169. Burton, vol. i. pp. 278—281.

† 'The Savelli family were in possession of the fortress in 1312; and the German army of Henry VII. marched from Rome, attacked, took, and burned it, but were unable to make themselves masters of the citadel, *that is, of the*

walls and fortifications which surround it, are the work of this family; and there is a ruined chapel very much like many of the country churches of England.

The tomb itself, which an inscription on the outside shews to have been erected in memory of a Roman lady of the Metellian family,* is a circular tower above 60 feet in diameter, resting upon a square basement of rubble, which has been despoiled of its exterior coating at different times, partly to make lime, and some of the blocks of travertine were cut away by Urban VIII., for the construction of the fountain of Trevi. The greater part of the basement is buried beneath the soil. The circular part is cased with freestone, and is remarkable for the immense size of the blocks, which are, in fact, larger than they appear to be, each block being divided into two or three squares. They are joined without cement, and are adorned with a Doric marble frieze, on which are sculptured rams' heads festooned with garlands of flowers. The interior of the wall is of brick, and is at least 20 feet thick at bottom. The sepulchral vault is below the present level of the soil; and it was not

tomb. The Gaetani family became masters of the place afterwards.'—Hobhouse, p. 202.

* The inscription is: CECILIAE. Q. CRETICI. F. METELLAE CRASSI.' Q. C. Metellus got the surname of *Creticus* for his conquest of Crete, U. C. 687; and the inscription is supposed to relate to his daughter, who married into the family of Crassus. Cornelius Nepos tells us, that 'Pomponius Atticus was buried five miles from Rome, near the Appian road, in the monument of his uncle, Q. Cæcilius.' The distance of this place from the Forum, is about five miles.—Burton vol. i. p. 300.

till the time of Paul III. that it was opened, when the beautiful marble sarcophagus was found, which now stands in the court of the *Palazzo Farnese*. The top of the roof is broken in, but enough remains to shew that the interior was of a conical shape, the walls converging internally, so as to be much thicker at the top than at bottom. The rude works on the top are said to have been added by Boniface VIII. towards the close of the thirteenth century. The fortress occupies exactly the brow of a range of hill extending in a direct line from Albano, and evidently formed, Mr. Woods says, by a current of lava. Just by it are considerable quarries, which supply Rome with paving-stones.

After leaving this monument and the Gothic fortress in which it has been included, the tombs become very frequent, disposed in a single line on each side of the Appian Way, and extending, at short intervals, for several miles.* But the museums have stripped these populous cemeteries of their memorials.

* A great number of fragments are scattered over a considerable extent, at a place called *Roma Vecchia*. (More places than one have received this absurd name.) Beyond this spot we meet again with tombs; and near a farm-house, most of the walls of which seem ancient, there has been a magnificent pyramidal sepulchre, originally surrounded with arches, and probably with a colonnade. An immense round mass not far from this, has formed the basement of some spacious mausoleum. The supposed 'Temple of Rediculus,' in the little valley of the Caffarelli,—a little brick building gayly decorated with Corinthian pilasters of red and yellow brick,—is also, there can be little doubt, a sepulchre; and there are three structures closely resembling it, at this *Roma Vecchia*.—See Woods, vol. ii. pp. 46—48

' The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now ;*
The very sepulchres lie tenantless
Of their heroic dwellers ;——'

and ' the tombs of the " happy dead" are become the huts of the wretched living.' All the great approaches to the ancient city were marked, like the Street of the Tombs at Pompeii, by these pompous memorials of the dead, intermingled with shops, and semi-circular seats, and villas, blending the public walk with the cemetery,—as if the dark spirits of the old heathen solaced themselves with the idea of still retaining, after death, some connexion with the thronged and busy scene. ' Let us,' says Mr. Hobhouse, ' fill the intermediate spaces with handsome edifices,—restore the despoiled marbles to the tombs themselves,—then imagine that the same decorations adorned all the other thirty great roads which branched off from the capital ; add to this also the banks of the Tiber, shaded with villas from as far as Otricoli on the Sabine side to the port of Ostia ;—with these additions, we shall account for the immense space apparently occupied by the city and suburbs of old Rome.'

* The inscriptions and monuments found in the sepulchre containing this tomb, have been carried to the Vatican, and copies are substituted in their room. Little remains to be seen, but a series of dark, damp chambers, by the help of a candle. There are niches in the walls, where the tombs were placed. The whole is cut out of tufo, and appears to have been originally a quarry. An arch of peperino, adorned with half columns, which formed the entrance, is nearly all the masonry of ancient date. Some additions of brick and tufo appear to have been made afterwards, and still later constructions have been carried along one side of it.—Woods, vol. ii. p. 41.

CHAPTER V.

ROME.

The Forum—The Temple of Peace—Arch of Titus—Arch of Constantine—The Capitoline Mount—Church of Araceli—Piazza del Campidoglio—Temples of Mars Ultor and Pallas—Pillars of Trajan and Aurelius—Arch of Janus—S. Maria in Cosmedin—Temple of Vesta—Theatre of Marcellus—The Pantheon.

'THE Forum,' remarks Dr. Burton, 'is perhaps the most melancholy object which Rome contains within its walls. Not only is its former grandeur utterly annihilated, but the ground has not been applied to any other purpose. When we descend into it, we find that many of the ancient buildings are buried under irregular heaps of soil; and a warm imagination might fancy that some spell hung over the spot, forbidding it to be profaned by the ordinary occupations of inhabited cities What Virgil says of its appearance before the Trojan settlers arrived, is singularly true at the present moment.

——'*passim armenta videres*
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire carinis.'
Æn. viii. 360.

Where the Roman people saw temples erected to perpetuate their exploits, and where the Roman nobles vied with each other in the magnificence of their dwellings, we now see a few insulated pillars standing amidst some broken arches. Or if the

curiosity of foreigners has investigated what the natives neither think nor care about, we may perhaps see the remnant of a statue or a column extracted from the rubbish. Where the *Comitia* were held, where Cicero harangued, and where the triumphal processions passed, we have now no animated beings, except strangers attracted by curiosity, the convicts who are employed in excavating as a punishment, and those more harmless animals who find a scanty pasture and a shelter from the sun under a grove of trees. At one end we have the hill of the Capitol, on the summit of which, instead of the Temple of Jupiter, the wonder of the world, we have the palace of the solitary "Senator." If we turn from the Capitol, we have on our right, the Palatine hill, now occupied by a few gardens and a convent. On the left, there is a range of churches, formed out of ancient temples; and in front, we discover at a considerable distance, through the branches of trees and the ruins of buildings, the mouldering arches of the Colosseum.'*

The very name of the Roman Forum has long been obliterated. It had acquired its present appellation, the *Campo Vaccino* or Cow-field, in the beginning of the fifteenth century; and the immense accretion of soil shews that this part of Rome must have been abandoned for ages. The destruction of the monuments, and the desolation of the site, must date, Mr. Hobhouse thinks, at least as early as the fire of Guiscard.† The

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 201—3.

† Hobhouse, p. 243.—The repented vow of Totila, that

exact position and dimensions of the Forum have become the subject of much learned doubt and disputation. It is known to have been situated between the Capitoline and the Palatine hills, and to have been in shape a rectangular oblong, the breadth being about two-thirds of the length. According to what may now be regarded as the received opinion, the four angles of the Forum were formed by the Arch of Severus at the foot of the Capitol, the Arch of Fabian, which stood near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the Temple of Romulus (now St. Theodore's) at the foot of the Palatine, and a point near the church *della Consolazione*, below the Capitol. If a line be drawn from the Arch of Severus, in a westerly direction, to the church *della Consolazione*, and from the same arch, in a southerly direction, to the church of *S. Lorenzo in Miranda* (the temple of Antoninus and Faustina), we shall have, according to Dr. Burton, a tolerably correct notion of the area which it occupied; about 705 feet by 470.*

If we wish to know, however, what buildings or other objects were comprised within this area, we must consult history, for the place itself will afford little information. They seem, indeed, to have been scattered over the ancient Forum with little or no regard to symmetrical arrangement; and the middle of it was by no means free from build-

he would make Rome a pasture or sheep-walk, has thus been singularly accomplished.

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 204, 5.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 400.—Mrs. Starke makes the distance from the *Chiesa della Consolazione* to St. Adrian's, about 750 feet, and the breadth from the Arch of Severus to the Three Columns, 500 feet.

ings, as we read of streets passing through it. The *Palais Royal* at Paris, or St. Mark's Place at Venice, may probably, Dr. Burton suggests, afford a correct notion of the manner in which the walks and shops were constructed on the sides. The *Via Sacra*, which led through it, does not appear to have lost its name when it entered the Forum. That part which lay at the foot of the Palatine, was called *Velia*. Close under that hill, near the south-western angle of the Forum, were placed the *Rostra*,* from which the Roman orators or magistrates harangued the assembled people. Above the *Rostra* was the *Curia*, or senate-house, to which there was an ascent from the Forum by a flight of steps; and somewhat behind the *Curia*, and to the left of it, looking from the Capitol, was the *Comitium*,—an elevated area, where civil causes were tried, and delinquents were publicly scourged. In the middle of this area grew the famous fig-tree called *Ruminalis*, under which it was fabled that Romulus and Remus were suckled by the she-wolf; and an image of the animal and her nurslings, cast in bronze, was placed beneath the tree. This brazen figure is still preserved in the *Campidoglio*, having been found close to the little church of St. Theodore, which is supposed to have replaced a temple of Romulus. Connected with the *Comitium* was the *Græcostasis*, a hall in which the envoys of foreign nations awaited the answer of the Senate; the *senaculum*, in which the Senate met on extraordinary occasions; the

* So called from being adorned with the beaks of galleys taken at Actium.

basilica of Opimius, and a small temple of Concord.* In front of the Palatine hill, near the ascent from the *Via Sacra*, stood the ancient temple of *Jupiter Stator*. Under the Palatine also was a celebrated temple of Castor and Pollux, which Caligula is said to have converted into a vestibule for his house on the Palatine. It was situated near a fountain commonly called the lake of Juturna; and near that temple was a slave-market; also, a temple consecrated by the *Triumviri* to Julius Cæsar, on the spot where his remains were consigned to the funeral pile.

Few and equivocal are the actual remains of these edifices. The most striking feature in the scene, consists of the three beautiful columns at the foot of the Palatine, which were long thought to be the remains of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, but which, according to the opinion of the best informed Roman antiquaries of the present day, form in reality part of the *Comitium*.† They are of white marble, of the Corinthian order, and are the largest fluted columns in Rome, being about 45 feet in height, and the flutings are one Roman palm (nearly 9 inches) across. They still support a small portion of the frieze and cornice; and fragile as they are, sustained only by connecting

* Cramer, vol. i. p. 403.

† It is objected, however, against this opinion, that the supposed remains of the *Curia* are so far distant from these columns, and so placed, as to render it doubtful whether they could constitute part of the same edifice; and it has therefore been supposed that they adorned the *Græcostasis*, which was added to the *Comitium* in the time of Pyrrhus, and rebuilt by Antoninus Pius.

bands of iron, their perfect symmetry and just proportion strike with admiration every beholder. There is nothing, indeed, in Rome, Dr. Burton says, so well adapted to inspire us with an idea of the magnificence of ancient architecture.* To the left of these beautiful columns, looking towards the Capitol, stands a high broken wall, the supposed remains of the *Curia*, of which the Church of *Santa Maria Liberatrice* is thought to occupy the site.† Immediately above this church rises the Palatine mount, covered with the deserted gardens of the Farnese family. The excavations made at the base of the three columns, have led to the discovery of buildings at the depth of fourteen feet below the present surface, which was about the level of the ancient Forum: these have as yet afforded only fresh matter for conjecture. The steps which led up to the supposed portico, have been discovered, facing the church of *San Lorenzo in Miranda*.

This church, which stands near the north-eastern

* Dr. Burton, who seems to favour the opinion that these columns belonged to the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, says that considerable force appears to have been used to destroy this temple, or, more probably, an earthquake has produced the effect. 'Some of the blocks of which the shafts are composed, have received a violent wrench, so as actually to force them out of their places, and destroy the continuity of the fluting. The same has been observed in the pillars of the temple of Theseus, the Parthenon, and *Propylæa* at Athens. It is conjectured that there were eight pillars in the front, and thirteen on each of the sides; and that these three stood on the south side.'—Burton, vol. i. p. 209.

† Three of the walls are in tolerable preservation, and several arches belonging to this edifice, may still be traced, in a house adjoining to the church.—Starke, p. 138.

angle of the Forum, derives its 'surname' from the admirable monuments with which it is surrounded. An inscription still remaining on the frieze, shews it to have been formed from the temple dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus and his wife Faustina. A considerable portion of the ancient building has been preserved: the principal part is the portico of ten columns, six in front, and two on each flank. They are of the Corinthian order; the shafts of *cipollino*, the bases and capitals of white marble; and their whole height is 63 palms (about 46 feet.) They do not, however, present any extraordinary appearance of beauty, as the marble is of indifferent quality. The whole of the cornice of the front has disappeared, as have the shafts of the pilasters on the sides; but some ornaments in the frieze, consisting of griffins and candelabra, are still tolerably perfect. The portico was buried to more than half the height of the pillars; but these are now laid open to their bases. There was also a flight of twenty-one steps, which led down from the temple to the *Via Sacra*.

Immediately at the base of the Capitoline hill, stands the Triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus, which occupied the north-west angle of the ancient Forum. It is of white marble, and consists of one large arch, with a smaller one on each side, which communicate laterally. On each front are sculptured bas-reliefs, indifferently executed, representing the triumphs of that Emperor over the Parthians.* It is also decorated with eight fluted

* A detailed description of these bas-reliefs is given by Dr. Burton, extracted from the work of a Roman antiquary. Those on the left hand, approaching the Arch from the

Composite pillars; and here, as in most ancient buildings, the roses upon the interior of the arch are all different. In one of the sides is a marble stair of 50 steps, leading to the top, where once stood a gilt bronze car, drawn by six horses abreast, containing the figure of Septimius seated, with his sons Caracalla and Geta, and having on each side an attendant on horseback, followed by one on foot. Coins of Caracalla exist, on the reverse of which is a representation of this Arch, surmounted with the car. It is known to have been erected in honour of the Emperor's two sons, as

S.E., relate to the first expedition of Severus, A.D. 195. In the upper part, he is seen haranguing his soldiers; below him, the Romans are slaying the Parthians; and at the bottom, the city of Carrha is taken: on the right, the siege of Nisibis is raised, and King Vologeses flees on horseback. The bas-reliefs on the right, relate to the events of the following year. Above are represented Severus and the King of Armenia, who is admitted to his friendship; in the middle, Abgarus, King of the *Adiabeni* or *Osrhoeni*, offers the assistance of troops; and at the bottom, the Romans apply the battering ram to the walls of the capital of the *Atreni*. On the other side of the Arch, facing the Capitol, the bas-reliefs on the right relate to the Emperor's second expedition in 199. In the upper part, he is haranguing his men, and sending out commanders: at the bottom, he is again besieging Atra, and in the corner, is a *catarrhacta*, an hydraulic engine described by Cæsar. The remaining compartment contains the affairs of the year 201. In the upper part, the Euphrates is crossed, and Ctesiphon taken. In the second, two chiefs kneel before the Emperor, denoting the submission of Arabia. At the bottom, the Tigris is crossed, Seleucia is taken, and Artabanus flees. Burton, vol. i. pp. 240, 1. See Gibbon, ch. viii. In the celebrated sculptures at Shapoor, the fable of the lion conquering the man is realised, and the Roman Emperor Valerian is the captive.—See MOD. TRAV. *Persia*, vol. i. p. 323

well as to himself, but the name of the eldest alone occurs in the inscription. He is styled M. Aurelius Antoninus, the nick-name of Caracalla being scarcely applied to him till after his death. The name of Geta has evidently been erased, and other words substituted; which was done when he was put to death by order of his brother, A.D. 213. The usual method of affixing these inscriptions, was, first to cut the letters in the stone, and then to fasten in metallic letters. These have been carried off from this inscription, as from almost every other; but the depression of the marble along the whole of the seventh line, shews that something had been cut away; and the holes in which the first metallic letters were fixed, still remain, by tracing which the original inscription in this line has been supplied with strong probability. The Arch was buried nearly half its height, when Pope Pius VII., in 1804, laid it open to the base; by which means the pavement of the ancient *Clivus Asyli* was discovered. A low circular wall has been thrown up in order to protect it from the falling in of the rubbish.*

To the left of this Arch, looking towards the Capitol, is the church of St. Adrian, the brick front of which is ancient, and is supposed to have been part of the famous *Basilica* of L. Æmilius Paulus, erected in the time of Augustus.† There are good reasons for thinking that the *Basilica*

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 239, 240.

† Burton, vol. ii. p. 213. Cramer, vol. i. p. 416.—The *Basilica* is known to have been ornamented with Phrygian columns; and it has been conjectured that these may still be seen in St. Paul's.

stood near this spot; but so did several other structures, among which was a temple of Hadrian, erected to the memory of Antoninus Pius; and the conjecture of Nardini is pronounced probable by Mr. Hobhouse, which identifies the church with that edifice.* It was formerly supposed by the Roman antiquaries to represent the temple of Saturn; but that edifice was situated near the Arch of Tiberius, which looked towards the *Velabrum.* In this part of the Forum, there was also a temple dedicated to the Three Fates, or *Parcæ;* and the church of St. Adrian is distinguished in old ecclesiastical writings by the surname of *in tribus Fatis.*† Its antiquity alone now recommends it to notice, as the marbles and stuccoes which are said formerly to have adorned the front, have been removed; and the ancient bronze door which formed the entrance to the church, was transferred by Alexander VII. to the Lateran Cathedral. 'This frightful old church,' says the Author of Rome in the Nineteenth Century, 'nobody but an antiquary would ever have suspected of being anything better than a barn. Yet, on the strength of the old tottering brick wall which forms its front, it has been pronounced to be the remains of one of the most splendid works of republican Rome!'‡ This church was counted

* Hobhouse, p. 245. 'These names of churches,' this Writer judiciously remarks, 'are the great help in adjusting topography.' Others have supposed that Hadrian's temple occupied the site of St. Luke's.

† Cramer, vol. i. p. 415.

‡ Rome, &c. vol. i. p. 129. Mr. Woods says decidedly, that it has no pretension to a republican date.

among the seven deaconries of Rome so early as the year 600; but it was rebuilt or repaired, in the seventeenth century, by the general of the order of Mercy.

The church of St. Luke, which adjoins that of St. Adrian, is one of the most ancient in Rome. On being repaired by Alexander IV., it was dedicated to *Santa Martina.* On the authority of an inscription found near this church, it has been thought to occupy the site of the *Secretarium Senatus*, or record-office; while others, again, suppose that Adrian's temple stood here. Mr. Hobhouse, however, infers from the dedicatory name, that it is more likely to have been formerly devoted to Mars, conformably to the general system of nomenclature observed in the conversion of the ancient temples into Christian churches.* It is called *in tribus foris*, from the contiguity of the Roman, Augustan, and Julian Forums,—a proof of its high antiquity. Now, the Forum of Augustus, besides having a double portico adorned with statues, boasted of a temple consecrated to Mars the Avenger, which Augustus had vowed to that deity during the civil war; and it was ordained, that the Senate should always hold their consultations on the affairs of war in this temple.† It is not improbable that this church, therefore, may occupy the site both of that temple and of the Augustan Forum, which was of no great extent. Sixtus V. gave it to the Academy of Painters, by whom it was dedicated to their patron,

* See on this subject, Blunt's Vestiges, &c. p. 91.

† Cramer, vol. i. p. 418. Its numerous statues, arms, and trophies are described by Ovid, Fast. V. 549.

St. Luke; and it is mentioned by Vasi as bearing his name only. The subterranean vault of this church, he says, is well worth seeing. He does not say on what account; but it probably presents the original level of the ancient edifice. Annexed to the church is the gallery belonging to the Academy of St. Luke, erected under Sixtus V. It contains the portraits of a number of the most celebrated painters; among others, that of Raffael, and a portrait of St. Luke by that master.

At a short distance from the Arch of Severus, at the very base of the Capitoline hill, or rather upon it, stand three fluted Corinthian columns, of Grecian marble. They are supposed to have formed the corner of the magnificent portico of the temple erected by Augustus to *Jupiter Tonans*, in gratitude for his escape from the lightning which struck one of the attendants preceding his litter. The building of Augustus was restored by S. Severus and Caracalla; and as we still read ESTITVER upon the frieze, this certainly, Dr. Burton observes, may be the same. It is known to have been standing in the time of Honorius. These pillars, though occupying an elevated position, were, till lately, buried almost to the capitals, but are now laid open to the base. They are of great size, four feet four inches in diameter, and appear to have been originally tinged with the purple colour prevalent in every part of Pompeii.* In the fluting near the capitals, this colour may be plainly distinguished. Upon the lateral frieze are sculptured several ornaments connected with sacri-

* The flutings of the three columns of the *Comitium* have the same purple tinge.

fices; such as the *albogalerus*, the cap worn by the *flamen dialis;* the *secespita*, or sacrificial knife; an ax; a hammer; the dish, the jug, and the *aspersorium* used in the rites of Jupiter. According to Nibby, there were originally six pillars in front, eight on each of the sides, and four more in the *pronaos;* in all twenty-four; but Vitruvius says, that the Temple of *Jupiter Tonans* had a portico of thirty columns.*

A short distance above these remains are eight other pillars of oriental granite; six in front and two behind, supporting an architrave, on which we read:

'Senatvs . Popvlvsqve . Romanvs.
Incendio . Consvmptvm . restitvit.'

Scarcely any thing remains above the architrave: all that exists, is of brick; and there are arches in it over the intercolumniations. When this temple was restored after the fire, Dr. Burton remarks, it was probably done in haste, and materials were employed which had belonged to different buildings, for neither the diameters of the pillars nor the intercolumniations are equal. 'One of them has evidently been made up of fragments of two different pillars, so that the diameter is greater near the summit, than it is in the middle. The two angular columns alone have plinths, and the bases are composed of Doric and Ionic mixed.' The bases and capitals are of white marble; the shafts, with the exception above-mentioned, are formed each of one block of granite; they are altogether 43 feet in height and 13 feet in circumference.

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 213—215.

It was long supposed that the edifice to which these pillars belonged, was that Temple of Concord where Tully assembled the senate on Catiline's conspiracy; and Dr. Middleton, in his Letter from Rome, says, that he could not help fancying himself much more sensible of the force of the great Roman's eloquence, while the impression of the place served to warm his imagination to a degree almost equal to that of the orator's old audience.* In fact, the temple went by this name in the fifteenth century, when seen by Poggio, who witnessed the destruction of the cell (*ædem totam*) and part of the portico, for the purpose of making lime.† Now that it has become the fashion with Roman antiquaries to call into dispute the names given to the ancient buildings, (often indeed on very vague evidence or incorrect assumptions,) the Temple of Concord has been obliged to change its title, and is now conjectured to have been a Temple of Fortune. This goddess was certainly, Dr. Burton remarks, worshipped near this spot; and as her temple was burned in the time of Maxentius, any repair made after that period, would be likely to be in bad taste, as this certainly was.‡ There seems to be no direct evidence, however, to justify the conjecture. But with re-

* Cited by Hobhouse, p. 234. † Ib. p. 237.

‡ Burton, vol. i. p. 216.—Livy mentions a temple of *Fortuna Primigenia*, near that of *Jupiter Tonans* on the *Clivus Capitolinus*.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 423. And from some verses at Prænestе, in the Palazzo Baronale, it appears that that goddess was worshipped on the Capitol, near the temple of Jupiter.

'*Tu quæ Tarpeio coleris vicina Tonanti,*
Votorum vindex semper Fortuna meorum.'

spect to the Temple of Concord, an excavation made in 1817, is thought to have clearly proved, that it stood more to the north, very near to the modern ascent to the Capitol. The *cella*, or the area of the temple, was discovered, and some inscriptions with the word CONCORDIA.* That temple is placed by Varro and other ancient topographers, between the Capitol and the Forum, which would seem sufficiently to correspond to the situation of the area in question. Near it was the *Senaculum*, in which decisive measures were determined upon against Catiline and his associates; and contiguous to this last building was the very ancient temple of Saturn, afterwards converted into a public treasury, situated at the foot of the ascent called *Clivus Capitolinus*. This ascent began from the Arch of Tiberius, which stood, Mr. Cramer thinks, near the present hospital of the *Consolazione*, and led up to the citadel by a winding path. That which began at the Arch of Severus, was called the *Clivus Asyli*. Less steep than the former, it was on that account chosen as the road by which the triumphant generals were borne in their cars to the Capitol. It is thought to have wound to the left of the Arch, passing near the ruined pillars and architrave, and thence to the *Intermontium*,—the interval between the Tarpeian summit and the Capitoline.†

In front of the ruins of the temple of *Jupiter*

* Burton, vol. i. p. 216.—This area is described by Mr. Cramer as somewhat lower than the supposed Temple of Fortune, and near the ruins supposed to belong to that of Jupiter Tonans.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 411.

† Cramer, vol. i. p. 422.

Tonans, within the ancient limits of the Forum, stands a solitary Corinthian column of marble, which long afforded employment to the varying conjectures of antiquaries; some supposing it to have belonged to the *Græcostasis*, others, to the Bridge of Caligula, or to the temple of *Jupiter Custos*. The Dutchess of Devonshire has the merit of having had recourse to the simple expedient of excavating to the base of the pillar, in 1813; by which means an inscription was discovered, recording the placing of a gilt statue on the top of it, in the year 608, to the Emperor Phocas, by Smaragdus, Exarch of Italy. The name of Phocas himself has indeed been erased; probably, says Dr. Burton, by his successor, Heraclius, who deposed and murdered Phocas, A.D. 610. Other words also are obliterated, but they have been supplied, without much difficulty or uncertainty, by the learning of Visconti and Nibby; and the whole inscription reads as a fulsome tribute to an execrable tyrant. 'The gilded statue, representing a hideous monster, and such as the decayed arts could then furnish,—the style, and even the letters of the inscription,—the shattered, repaired column, transferred from some other structure, and defaced by rude carving, must,' says Mr. Hobhouse, 'have forcibly bespoken the degradation of the Forum and of the Roman race.'* There can be no

* Hobhouse, pp. 241, 2.—Burton, vol. i. pp. 211—13.—The inscription, as supplied by Visconti, is given both by Dr. Burton and by Mr. Hobhouse. Gregory the Great has, in his epistles, lauded in similar terms, 'this worthy rival of the Caligulas and Domitians of the first age of the empire.' 'But we should remember,' remarks Dr. Burton, 'that his

doubt, indeed, that the pillar itself is much older than the time of Phocas, as the inscription refers only to the statue. A pillar was erected, in the Forum, in honour of Claudius, the successor of the Emperor Gallienus; and Dr. Burton suggests, that the statue which is stated to have been on the summit, may possibly have given place, after the lapse of four centuries and a half, to that of Phocas. The pillar is of Greek marble, fluted, 4 feet 4 inches in diameter, 46 feet in height, and stands upon a pyramid of eleven steps. Including the pedestal, the whole height of the monument, according to Vasi, is 58 feet.

At the southern extremity of the Forum, under the Palatine, and on the way to the ancient *Forum Boarium*, stands the small '*rotonda*' or circular temple, supposed to occupy the site of the ancient Temple of Romulus. The brazen wolf now in the Capitol, was preserved here till the sixteenth century; a fact which, although it may attest the antiquity of the structure, will scarcely be regarded as a proof that this is the original building of Tatius. The walls, which are of brick, are perfect, and apparently not of very high antiquity. The roof is unquestionably modern; nor is there anything about the edifice that, to a common

enormities had been confined to the eastern empire, whereas Italy seems to have been favoured by him. He wrote to Gregory, proposing an orthodox confession of faith, *acknowledged the supremacy of the Romish See*, was very liberal to the Roman churches, and allowed the Pantheon to be converted to Christian purposes. All which must have been extremely gratifying to a pope in the seventh century; and perhaps, we, in the nineteenth, ought to make some allowance for his feelings.'

eye, bespeaks a very remote date. The tribune displays a mosaic of the eighth century. It is not known at what period this temple was first converted into a church. Pope Adrian I. repaired it in 774; and Nicolas V. is said to have entirely rebuilt it in 1450. It is dedicated to *San Teodoro*, vulgarly called *San Toto*. The interior is perfectly plain. Outside the entrance stands an old altar, upon which, as an inscription states, profane incense once burned. Of the identity of the site with that on which Romulus was once worshipped, a custom still in practice affords a very strong presumptive proof. It was customary for the Roman matrons to carry their children, when ill, to the temple of Romulus; and children, when attacked with unknown diseases, are still carried to the church of St. Theodore, to be cured by his saintship's intercession.*

The rotonda which now forms a vestibule to the church of *SS. Cosmo e Damiano*, on the *Via Sacra*, is generally said to have belonged to a Temple of Remus; while others have called it a Temple of Quirinus; and according to a third opinion, it was a double temple erected to the twin Brothers, which certainly seems to have been the popular tradition when the church received

* Burton, vol. ii. p. 212.—Nibby supposes this to have been the celebrated temple of Vesta, originally erected by Numa, in which the eternal flame was preserved, and where the Palladium, saved from the ruins of Troy, was also deposited. That temple, according to Mr. Cramer, stood between the *Via Nova* and the *Via Sacra*. We learn from Ovid, that it was round. It was twice burned, in the reigns of Nero and Commodus, but was each time rebuilt.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 408.

its present dedicatory name. The bronze door, marble door-case, and two porphyry columns outside the church, appear also to be antique. This edifice is stated to have been first converted into a church by S. Felix IV. in 530; it was repaired by Sergius I. in 689; and again in 780, by Adrian I., who added the bronze doors. But the nave, Mr. Woods says, is of the seventeenth century. The church being found extremely damp from the accumulation of soil outside, Urban VIII. raised the level of it; so that the present floor is about 20 feet higher than that of the ancient temple, and its doors of bronze and porphyry columns were formerly much lower down. The original level may be seen by descending some steps near the altar. In this temple was discovered a pavement containing the Plan of Rome, cut on white marble, (probably in the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla,) which plan, mutilated and unmethodized, is now fixed into the wall of the staircase of the Museum of the Capitol. In the vestibule, there is a curious echo. This edifice is supposed to have been without the verge of the Forum, but near it.

Close to this church are some of the most remarkable remains in Rome, which, till lately, have been supposed those of the Temple of Peace;*

* Vespasian, after terminating the war in Judæa, erected, near the Forum, a temple to Peace, which was esteemed the most magnificent in Rome, being encrusted with bronze gilt, adorned with stupendous columns, and enriched with the finest statues and pictures. Among them was a colossal statue of the Nile surrounded by sixteen children, cut out of one block of basalt; also, the celebrated portrait of

but that conjecture has now been abandoned in favour of the opinion started by Nibby, that they are the ruins of the *Basilica* of Constantine. 'They certainly seem to have belonged to a *Basilica*,' Dr. Burton remarks, 'rather than to a temple. They are in bad taste, and not unlike the other edifices of the age of Constantine. A small portion only of the original building remains; but the parts of it are on a prodigious scale. It consists of three very large arches, each about 75 feet across. We should consider these, in the present day, as a side-aisle, or as three lateral chapels. The rest of the building has disappeared; but the plan may be made out; and it seems to have consisted of a nave with an aisle on each side: these were divided from each other by eight pillars of white marble, four of which stood against the piers of these arches. One of them may still be seen in Rome, it being that very beautiful pillar which stands in front of *S. Maria Maggiore*. The middle arch of the three is recessed further back; and each of the others has two rows of windows, with three in each row. The cieling of all of them has been ornamented with stucco, much of which still remains. It is calculated that the whole length of the temple was 326 feet, and the width 220. Recent excavations have proved

Ialysas, as painted by Protogenes for the Rhodians. Here, we learn from Josephus, Vespasian deposited all the spoils which his son Titus brought from Jerusalem; and attached to the temple was a library. But we learn from Herodian, that the whole of it was consumed by fire in the reign of Commodus; and Procopius tells us, that the ruins were lying on the ground in his time.—Cramer, vol. i. p. 381 Burton, vol. i. p. 218.

the entrance to have been on the side facing Mount Aventine.'*

The practised eye of Mr. Woods, however, recognised the marks of a change of destination in this edifice, which led him to infer that it must have existed, in its original form, prior to the era of Constantine. Many of the paving-bricks are marked with the name of Domitian. This does not amount, however, to a proof of the date of the edifice; and the execution of the parts shews decisively, that it is not, in its present state, of so early an era. The original plan was a room about 248 feet by 195, vaulted with three groined arches, having on each side three large recesses, rising about as high as the springing of the principal arches, and occupying nearly their whole width. These groined vaults had the appearance of resting on the detached entablatures which surmounted eight Corinthian columns; and by throwing the weight upon such slender and apparently inefficient props, it was probably intended, Mr. Woods suggests, to give the whole an exaggerated appearance of lightness. The great hall in the Baths of Diocletian was built upon the same model, and was, perhaps, the first remarkably successful effort of the sort. 'It is impossible,' continues this Writer, 'to deny the impressive effect produced by these ample spaces and this bold construction, or not to regret that it should have occasioned the entire disregard of all chaster beauty, both in the masses and in the details. In the Temple of Peace, the great vault

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 218, 19.

is gone. The stucco panelling of the side vaults, is in a fine, free style; but the details are bad, and the execution poor. The backs of the two side recesses, each with two ranges of comparatively small arches, never could have had a pleasing appearance by any mode of finishing; and the circular recess is still worse in design; but the latter was a posterior addition, made to convert the edifice into a Christian church. One end of the nave seems to have been finished in a manner similar to the ends of the two side recesses: the other has a large niche. We may, perhaps, trace in this arrangement, the first idea of the distribution of the Roman churches. The original entrance was at the end. The middle tribune on one side, was opened at some period later than the conversion of Constantine, and a flight of steps was made up to it, while a semi-circular extremity was added to the opposite tribune; so that what had been the nave or leading division of the hall, became the transept, although larger than the part which thus had the effect of a nave, as is the case at present in the church of the Baths of Diocletian.'*

Although this edifice could not have been designed for a temple, it is not improbable that it occupied the site of the magnificent edifice which gave its name to this region of the ancient city. The opinion which now appears to prevail among the Roman antiquaries, is, that these are remains of a *Basilica* erected by Maxentius out of the

* Woods, vol. i. pp. 338—340.

ruins of the Temple of Peace, but which must have extended beyond the site of that temple, since part of the *Via Sacra* has been discovered, in consequence of recent excavations, under the *Basilica*. Apartments of small dimensions have also been found beneath these remains, which are supposed to have held some of the treasures deposited in the temple erected by Vespasian. The substitution of the name of Constantine for that of Maxentius, dates, probably, from its transformation into a Christian church.*

From these ruins, we have only to cross the way to the Arch of Titus, generally considered as the oldest triumphal arch now standing in Rome, as it has apparently been the most beautiful; but it is in a state of great dilapidation, having been nearly destroyed for the sake of its rich decorations, and the white marble with which the whole is cased, is become black with age. It was, in fact, in danger of falling, but has recently been repaired,† and the parts which were lost, have been restored in travertine stone. It consists of a single arch, originally adorned with eight marble columns, of which four had completely disappeared, and two only remained entire. The order is Composite, of which this Arch has generally been supposed to furnish the earliest specimen; but that order is also found in the Arch of

* Gibbon states, that 'several edifices raised at the expense of Maxentius, were dedicated to the honour of his successful rival.'

† Dr. Burton states, that the Arch has been taken down and put up again.

Drusus, within the gate of St. Sebastian, which Dr. Burton supposes to be still older.* The interior of the Arch is decorated with sculptures, representing, on one side, Titus in his car of triumph, conducted by the Genius of Rome, and crowned by the hand of Victory; on the other, the spoils of the Temple of Jerusalem,—the seven-branched candlestick, the trumpets, the golden table with the show-bread, and the vessel of incense, with a train of captive Jews.† On the roof is the apotheosis of Titus. These are exhibited with all the freedom and grandeur of full relief. Another kind of *alto-relievo*, smaller in size, yet heavier in effect, is placed (Mr. Forsyth thinks, injudiciously) in the frieze: it represents the procession of a sacrifice. 'The four victories, so light and so elegant, being in lower relief, are better preserved than the more prominent sculp-

* A still earlier specimen of the Composite order is said to have existed, in the portico of a temple dedicated to Augustus and Rome, at Mylassa, in Caria.—See MOD. TRAV., vol. iii. p. 202.

† Reland has a dissertation upon these bas-reliefs, which are our best authority for the representation of these sacred memorials. The spoils of Titus were deposited in the Temple of Peace, but appear to have been saved, when that edifice was burned, since the Hebrew vessels were part of the treasure carried off by Genseric to Africa, and recovered by Belisarius, who carried them to Constantinople, A. D. 450. Procopius states, that the Emperor, warned by a Jew of the fatality attendant on the possession of these treasures, sent the whole of them to the Christian Churches at Jerusalem. Their subsequent history would be interesting, but is lost in uncertainty. 'The Ark of the Covenant is said to be preserved in St. John Lateran, but it does not appear from Josephus that it was ever carried to Rome.'—Burton, vol. i. pp. 232—237.

tures.' Over the Arch, there is a chamber, designed merely, it is supposed, to lighten the building.

This Arch was erected, as an inscription records, by the Senate and People of Rome, in honour of the Conqueror of Judæa, after his death, and probably in the reign of Trajan. In the time of Sixtus IV., the bas-reliefs were not visible: so much had the soil accumulated and buried the Arch. That pontiff ordered it to be excavated, and there is now a clear passage at the level of the ancient pavement.

Between the Arch of Titus and the church of *Sta. Francesca Romana*, some steps have been recently excavated, which are supposed to have led from the Forum to the Temple of Venus and Rome. This was a double temple, surrounded with a peristyle of very large granite columns, fragments of which are still discernible, as well as the foundations of the portico. The whole edifice was 535 feet in length and 321 in width, and, when entire, was extremely magnificent. All that now remains, consists of 'two chapels, joining each other by the semi-circular tribunes.' These are supposed to have been the *cellæ* of the double temple; and the niches for the statues are still to be seen, with a considerable portion of one of the side walls.* Each *cella* was approached by a flight of steps, and was adorned with columns of

* 'Palladio restored these temples with a portico, or rather *loggia* to each, of six columns and four pilasters, not the height of the building. It seems more probable, that each had a lofty decastyle portico and pediment, as is usual in temples.'—Woods, vol. i. p. 311.

porphyry, which, from recent excavations, are ascertained to have been two feet in diameter. The roof was stuccoed and gilt, and the interior walls and pavement were incrusted with *giallo-antico* and serpentine.

This temple had the singular honour of having an emperor for its architect; but when tyrants turn artists, wo to the critic or the rival! Hadrian submitted his design to Apollodorus, who had distinguished himself by building the Forum of Trajan, and the bridge over the Danube. The artist forgot to be a courtier, and his criticism, too just to be forgiven, cost him his life.* The temple may be seen on coins of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Some antiquaries, however, have chosen to call these ruins the temple of the Sun and Moon; others, that of Isis and Serapis; for what is there in Rome that has not been disputed? Underneath the wall of this building is seen a slab of white marble, which is thought to have formed part of the pavement of Nero's golden house.

Turning the corner of the Palatine hill, not far from the Coliseum, stands the Arch of Constantine,—the most noble, because the best preserved structure of the kind in Rome; but it is indebted for its chief beauty to the mean spoliation of the Arch of Trajan, which stood in the forum of that Emperor. It consists of a large arch between two smaller ones, ornamented, on each side, with four fluted Corinthian columns of *giallo-antico*, supporting the figures of eight Dacian captive warriors, which are of *pavonazetto*.† These pillars

* Burton, vol. i. p. 220.

† Or rather seven. One of the columns of *giallo-antico*

and statues came from the Arch of Trajan, as well as eighteen of the bas-reliefs; viz., the ten which are in the Attic story, and eight of the round medallions. All the rest, and the bases of the pilasters, are of Constantine's time; and by comparing them, we are told, it is easy to perceive how greatly the arts had deteriorated since the time of Trajan. Four of the bas-reliefs in the Attic story, on the front facing the Coliseum, represent the triumphal entry of Trajan into Rome; the repair of the Appian Way; his measures to supply Italy with provisions; and Partomasires imploring the Roman Emperor to restore to him the kingdom of Armenia, which had been taken from his father. On the opposite front, we find Trajan declaring Partenaspartes, King of Parthia; the discovery of a conspiracy formed against him by Decebalus, King of Dacia; his harangue to the soldiers; and the sacrifice called *Suovetaurilia*, performed by him.* On the two sides, are also two bas-reliefs, which appear originally to have formed only

was taken away by Clement VIII., to serve as a companion to another, under the organ in the Lateran Basilica, and has been replaced with one of white marble, now nearly as dark as the rest. One of the statues is also of white marble, and was placed there by Clement XII., who employed Pietro Bracci to put heads to all the statues, the original ones having been carried off by Lorenzino de' Medici, who assassinated the Grand Duke Alexander. See page 199 of the present volume, and Burton, vol. i. p. 250. The general effect is scarcely impaired by these restorations.

* 'The Parthian captives,' Gibbon sarcastically remarks, 'appear prostrate at the feet of a prince who never carried his arms beyond the Euphrates; and curious antiquaries can still discover the head of Trajan on the trophies of Constantine.

one compartment, and which are considered as the finest of the whole: they represent the victory gained by Trajan over Decebalus. The eight round medallions on the two fronts, relate to the sports of the chase, of which Trajan was fond, and to sacrifices offered by him to various deities. Of the sculptures contemporary with the Arch, and which are of very inferior execution, those at the bottom relate to the conquest of Verona, and to the victory over Maxentius at the *Ponte Molle*. A line of indifferent bas-reliefs goes all round the Arch, exhibiting military processions and similar spectacles. Two more round medallions, one on each side, represent chariots of the sun and moon, emblematical of the east and west. The four figures of Fame over the Arch, and the victories on the pedestals of the columns, also shew the poor state of the arts in the time of Constantine. Those on the interior sides of the Arch, are of the same date, but of better workmanship. The two statues are not of Constantine, but of Trajan. The general form and proportion of the edifice are, however, good; and the mis-appropriation of the stolen ornaments is felt to be a defect, only when the story is known. Constantine, probably, but followed the example set him by his predecessors; and Trajan himself was noted for placing his own name upon public edifices not of his own erection. At all events, there is no reason to regret the robbery to which these bas-reliefs owe their preservation, while the Arch and Forum of Trajan have been swept away.*

* Burton, vol. i. pp. 244—251.

The soil which had accumulated round this Arch, was removed, by order of the reigning pontiff, in 1804, when part of the pavement of the *Via Triumphalis* was brought to light. A staircase on one side, leads up to a chamber in the Arch, filled with fragments of marble, which have apparently lain there ever since the Arch was erected. The grass-grown platform at the top was once, probably, occupied by the Victor in his triumphal car; but this has disappeared.

Not far from this Arch, between the *Via Sacra* and the Coliseum, are the ruins of a fountain called the *Meta Sudans*, from its resembling in shape the *meta* of a circus: it was conical, and had a spout issuing from the vertex. According to Cassiodorus, it was constructed in the reign of Domitian, and it appears on the medals of the amphitheatre. Recent excavations have laid open this fountain to the ancient level. A street running parallel with the *Via Sacra* led from the *Meta Sudans*, through the Arch of Titus, to the Forum: it was called *Vicus Sandaliarius*, (from a surname of Apollo,) and appears to have been the Paternoster Row of ancient Rome.*

Having now explored the whole of the Sacred Way between the Capitoline hill and the Coliseum, we return to the Capitol itself, which we may consider as in some measure the boundary of ancient Rome on the one side, and modern Rome on the other. This eminence, which, like the other hills, was much more marked formerly than it is at present, is about half a mile in circuit. The top has

* Cramer, vol. i. p. 384.

been levelled, and the ground at the bottom greatly raised; yet still, the ascent on one side is extremely steep. From the side of the *Campus Martius*, it is ascended by an inclined plane; and from the same point, a flight of 124 marble steps leads up to the Church of *Ara-celi*, which has been supposed to occupy the site of the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, on the summit facing the north, about 160 feet above the level of the Tiber.* The Tarpeian summit, on the southern side, facing the river and Mount Aventine, where once stood the citadel, now bears the name of *Monte Caprino*. It is choked up by dirty cottages, through one of which you are led to look over one of the Tarpeian precipices. The highest angle of the rock is behind the gallery of the Conservators' Palace and the *Palazzo Caffarelli*: the most abrupt is the corner at the other end of the former edifice. Which of these two is the actual precipice whence the traitors were thrown, has not yet been resolved; for here, as almost every where else, the researches of antiquaries have but served to involve every point in uncertainty.†

* Burton, vol. i. p. 108.—This is the opinion of Donatus, and the great Capitoline temple is supposed to have stood behind the Palace of the *Conservatori*. Nardini reverses their position, and Mr. Cramer thinks it safer to follow his authority; but 'doubts have shaken this presumption,' remarks Mr. Hobhouse, 'and the Feretrian Jupiter has again put in his claim to that elevation.'

† 'We were led into a narrow and dirty court-yard, preceded and followed by a crowd of beggars, treading barefooted in all sorts of filth, and closing round wherever we stopped. The rock, a reddish and soft tufa, is hollowed into a spacious cave occupied as a wine-cellar. The perpendicular front may be four and twenty feet high; and the

'Read every thing that has been written on the topography of a spot 400 yards in length, and 200 in breadth,' says Mr. Hobhouse, 'and you will know nothing. Four temples, fifteen chapels (*ædes*), three altars, the great rock, a fortress, a library, an athenæum, an area covered with statues, the enrollment office, all these are to be arranged in the above space; and of these, the last only can be with precision assigned to the double row of vaults corroded with salt, where the inscription of Catulus was discovered. The citadel may be believed to have extended along the whole side of the hill... An early topographer (Fabricius) mentions a church of *S. Salvator in Maximis*, looking towards the west, as occupying the site of the great Capitoline temple; but no such church now exists.

'The present state of the Capitol,' continues the learned Writer, 'dates from the pontificate of Paul III. On the establishment of the papal power, the castle of St. Angelo was to be the only fortress; and the genius of Michael Angelo was employed to make the ancient citadel not only ac-

abrupt slope above, on the summit of which the *Palazzo Caffarelli* stands, seems to be about as much more.'—Simond, p. 154. Mr. Cadell, however, states the height of the Capitoline hill, at the western end of the Tarpeian rock, at 118 feet above the Tiber.—Cadell, vol. ii. p. 256. Dr. Burton says: 'The perpendicular depth (of the highest part) may be 50 feet; but, as the soil has accumulated exceedingly at the bottom, it may have been nearly double that height. Ficoroni found it 60 feet, exclusive of the building that had been added upon it.'—Burton, vol. i. p. 124. A passage is cited from Seneca, which intimates that the height was not so great, but that a criminal might possibly survive the first fall, and require to be thrown down more than once.

cessible, but inviting. The broad and easy ascent, the *façade* and steps of the senatorial palace, and the lateral edifices have accomplished this object; but they accord ill with our preconceptions of the Roman Capitol. It should, however, be recollected, that although the area may have been partially levelled, the principal eminence is probably as high as that of the ancient hill. The tops of the buildings below, were on a level with the base of the Capitoline structures in the reign of Vitellius; and the ascent was by a hundred steps, which could hardly rise higher than the 124 steps of the church of *Aracœli*. Calpurnius, in his seventh eclogue, says, that the top of the Coliseum towered above the Tarpeian rock. We can account for that rock appearing less terrific than might be expected; since a large piece of it, as big as a house of ample magnitude, fell down in the reign of Eugenius IV. The Caffarelli palace and other edifices conceal the form of the summit itself.

'*Aracœli*, whether on the site of the great temple or not, preserves the post which it occupied eight centuries ago. The Benedictines made way for the Franciscans in 1252; and popes and cardinals have been ambitious to contribute to the dignity of the substitute. The corporation calling itself the Roman People, affected to emulate, in behalf of this church, the splendours of Catulus and Domitian, and gilded the whole interior roof, in gratitude for the victory obtained over the Turks in 1571. On the return of Mark Anthony Colonna from the victory of Lepanto, in that year, he was received in trumph in the Capitol; and *Aracœli* was the new temple which served instead

of that of the Jove Best and Greatest, to receive the vows of the Christian conqueror. The religious community amounted to 400, when the French dispersed them, and reduced their treasures to the base of the altar which Augustus Cæsar erected to the First-born of God, and to the picture of the Virgin, painted by St. Luke. The restored remnant is only a hundred.'*

The body of this edifice is supposed to have been erected about the sixth century. The front, which is of unornamented brick-work, seems never to have been finished, but offers a fragment of Italian Gothic, which Mr. Woods is disposed to assign to the fifteenth century, when the church is said to have been repaired. The interior consists of a nave with side-aisles, divided from each other by twenty-two columns of different sizes and materials, some plain, others fluted, with capitals of gilt stucco, 'of a detestable Ionic,' laid over the old work. The original capitals were of as different workmanship as the columns; nor are the bases less so, some being Corinthian, others Attic, some of an unnamed order; and as the columns are of various lengths, it was requisite to mount them on pedestals of different heights. They support a range of arches which have no correspondence to those of the side-aisles behind them. Altogether, it would be difficult, Mr. Woods says, to find a much more ugly church. The magnificent flight of steps leads only to a small lateral door at the side of the tribune, so that everything is bad; and one of the finest situations in Rome

* Hobhouse, pp. 224, 5; 231—3.

for a magnificent edifice, is absolutely thrown away.*

From the tenth to the thirteenth century, this church was called *Sta. Maria in Campidoglio.* Its present name (*la Madonna di Ara-celi*) is connected with a legend which, Dr. Burton remarks, has certainly been forged since the time of Eusebius; namely, that, on a spot not far from the present high altar, Augustus Cæsar, in consequence of an answer from the oracle at Delphi to his inquiry respecting his successor, raised an altar with the inscription *Ara primogenito Dei.*† Devoid as the church is of architectural beauty, it is curious and interesting. The floor is one mass of mosaic, apparently of the rarest antique stones, and exceedingly uneven from age.

It was in this church, 'as he sat musing amid the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter,' that Gibbon first conceived, as he tells us, the idea of writing the Decline and Fall of the City. To a man whose nominal religion lay wholly in his imagination,—who identified the ill-understood

* Woods, vol. i. p. 392. 'I longed excessively,' says the Writer, 'to pull down church and convent, examine all the antiquities thus exposed, and then to erect a magnificent temple-formed cathedral, the church of the Roman people; and by clearing away a few rubbishing buildings, I could make this appear to crown the *Corso*, and attract the eye from the first entrance into Rome.'

† Burton, vol. ii. pp. 217. The connexion of the name *Ara-celi* (as it is generally written) with this pretended inscription, is not very obvious, and we suspect the correctness of the alleged derivation.

creed with the unmeaning ceremonial,—the genius of Christianity with the institutions of a corrupt church,—how could the suggested contrast between the fallen majesty of classic heathenism and the extant mummery of the intrusive faith, be otherwise than to the disadvantage of the latter? At Rome, above all other places, to escape becoming an infidel, an intelligent man would require to be something more, or something less, than a philosopher. Reasoning only from the spectacle which is there presented to him, and from the dark records of ecclesiastical history, his conclusions must be fatal to his faith. Little, indeed, might seem to be gained, as regards the progress of the human mind, by the revolutions of eighteen centuries, which have served only to change the names of the altars, and to vary the garb of superstition, without altering the character of the rites.

The marble steps of the *Ara-celi*, like the *Scala Santa* at the Lateran, are, on certain occasions, ascended by the devout on their knees. In the same manner, both Cæsar and Claudius are recorded to have mounted to the Capitol, when going to return thanks in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Does the reader wish for further coincidences between the ancient and the modern superstition? The very altar here, is a heathen altar, supposed to be consecrated by a heathen emperor, and such as could have found no place in the churches of the Apostolic days. Further, the monks of St. Francis, who have succeeded to the priests of Jupiter, are, in their vows of mendicity, as well as in their costume,—the loose cloak and

cowl, the sandals, and the tonsure, the very counterpart of the priests of Isis and Serapis.*

The height of the Capitoline hill on the side of the Forum, is rendered more imposing by the clearing away of the soil, which at one time rose to the base of the senatorial palace, forming a platform of dirt and rubbish, over which carriages are seen driving in the old views of Rome. But the modern approach from the *Campo Marzo*, is the most imposing: the colossal figures and the trophies of Trajan, there seen in front, with the admirable equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius rising before the visiter as he mounts, have an air of grandeur not wholly unsuitable to 'the sensations inspired by the genius of the place.' The *Intermontium*, once occupied by the Asylum of Romulus, is now the *Piazza del Campidoglio*, surrounded on three sides with public buildings, and pronounced by Mr. Woods to be 'perhaps the best architectural work of Michael Angelo.'† Its merit, he remarks, depends greatly on the same circumstance that gives so much effect to the Piazza of St. Mark; namely, that the two side buildings form an avenue conducting to the central one. Its defects are, that the lines of the side buildings diverge so as to appear shorter than they are, and that the central building has not sufficient *character*. A large, ugly window inserted in the middle of each side,

* Blunt's Vestiges, pp. 127—137.

† Mr. Forsyth is unusually severe upon the architecture of the Capitol. 'Abstract all the defects, two orders in one, the scale of orders reversed, ill-proportioned columns, double pediments, broken lintels, &c., and the result will be nothing above elegance.'

(by Giacomo del Duca, a pupil of Buonarotti's,) is also objected to as greatly interfering with that unity of design which is essential to magnificence. The building in front, is the palace of the solitary Senator of Rome, whose office closely resembles that of the *podestà* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He presides over the courts of justice, and has the control of the city-guard. He is appointed by the Pope, but must always be a foreigner. This palace was built by Boniface IX. on the ruins of the ancient *Tabularium*,* and includes a prison. The Palace of the *Conservatori* occupies the right side: on the left is the building containing the *Museum Capitolinum*. An open portico, supported (apparently) by small Ionic columns about half the height of the principal order, extends along the front of each side building.

In the middle of the square is the equestrian statue already mentioned, the only one of bronze now remaining, of all that adorned Ancient Rome, and admitted to be the finest equestrian statue in the world. It formerly stood before St. John Lateran, and was placed here by Paul III. in 1538. The pedestal was made by Michael Angelo, out of the frieze and architrave of the Arch of Trajan! The statue has been gilt, of which some traces still remain. It has been called, at different times, the statue of Lucius Verus, (on one of whose coins, according to Addison, it appears,) of Septimius Severus, and of Constantine, but it is now settled to be that of Aurelius.†

* Woods, vol. i. p. 440. Burton, vol. i. p. 117.

† Burton, vol. i. p. 121. Addison, p. 202.—'I have seen

Of the other antiquities which adorn the piazza and the courts and gallery of the Museum, we attempt no description, because no description of which our limits would allow, could be satisfactory. They have been the the subject of voluminous dissertation; but the visiter will find all that he requires in the local catalogue. A whole room is filled with Egyptian sculptures, brought from the *Villa Adriana*. The greater part are of Greek workmanship, in *nero-antico* marble; but there are some of basalt, which have a more genuine Egyptian character. The collection of paintings in the Museum, is very small, and not very select. Those by Domenichino, Guercino, and Guido are the best, but none of them rank higher than second-rate productions. On the other hand, the collection of statues and marbles includes some of the most precious relics of ancient art. At the head of those of the first class ranks the Dying Gladiator, of which Lord Byron has given so admirable a *cast* in the fourth canto of his Childe Harold, imbodying the very shape and

on coins,' says the latter Writer, 'the four finest figures, perhaps, that are now extant; the Hercules Farnese, the Venus of Medicis, the Apollo in the Belvidere, and the famous Marcus Aurelius on horseback.' Till lately, there was an officer called *Custode del Cavallo*, who received 10 crowns per month for taking care of this horse! This idol of Rome, however, has become a subject of contention with the *virtuosi*. 'Some critics,' says Forsyth, 'find the proportion of the animal false, and his attitude impossible. The spirit and fire of the general figure will seduce the most practised eye.' But it were unfair, he thinks, to judge of the excellence of ancient art, 'from this bruised and unfortunate animal.'—Even Forsyth can play the *virtuoso* sometimes.

expression of the statue, in a form 'than bronze more durable.' Whether the figure be rightly named or not, (which, as being a Greek statue, is very questionable,) it is that of a wounded man, who

'Consents to death, yet conquers agony.'*

The right arm is a restoration by Michael Angelo. Among the other most famous statues are the Venus of the Capitol, (supposed to be an ancient copy of the Medicean,) 'the Mercury misnamed Antinous,' the Cupid and Psyche, Cupid bending his bow, a semi-colossal Muse or Juno, a head of Alexander, the sitting statue of Agrippina. the Zeno, the Camillus, the Furietti Centaurs, and an exquisite Faun in red marble. Among the bas-reliefs, the Dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles, the Nine Muses, and the Battle of the Amazons, are instanced by Winckelmann as three of the six most beautiful bas-reliefs in the world. An old bas-relief, on the stair-case, of Curtius leaping into the Gulf, is curious as indicating the gulf to have been a marsh. The celebrated bronze wolf with its twin foster children, is believed to be of unquestionable antiquity, although certainly not (Dr. Burton says) the wolf mentioned by Dionysius and Livy, as struck with lightning; and the children are a modern restoration.†

We must now briefly advert to a few antiquities

* 'From the peculiarity, and I may say mannerism of the knuckles,' says Mr. Williams, 'I am inclined to think, that this statue was executed by the same sculptor who made the statue of the Knife-grinder, in the Tribune at Florence.'

† Burton, vol. i. p. 152. See page 326. 'The Mercury misnamed Antinous,' ought not, I believe, to have been included in the above enumeration: it is in the Vatican, not in the Capitol.

in the neighbourhood of the Capitol, which claim distinct mention.

The extreme portion of the eighth region, between the Capitol and the Quirinal, was occupied by the Forum of Trajan, which included a *basilica*, a triumphal arch, a temple, and a library, and, in the splendour of its buildings, exceeded any other part of the city. At the foot of the Quirinal, but within the fourth region (*Templum Pacis*), was the Forum of Nerva, called also, from its communicating with the others, *Transitorium* or *Pervium*. A very high wall, about 144 paces in length, composed of square masses of freestone without cement, and making several angles, is supposed to be part of the wall which bounded the last-named Forum. There is an arch in it, called *L' Arco de' Pantani*, apparently half buried in the soil; and close to this are the magnificent remains of the portico of a temple, supposed by some antiquaries to be that which was erected in honour of Nerva, by Trajan; by others, the temple erected to *Mars Ultor* by Augustus.* They consist of part of the wall of the cell, and three Corinthian columns and a pilaster of Parian marble, with the entablature. Above it, and resting in a great measure on two of the columns, rises a high brick tower, a work of the middle ages. The pillars are 54 feet and a half in height, and, in point of design and

* This may be, Dr. Burton thinks, the edifice mentioned by Pliny, as standing in the *Pervium*, 'a lofty and magnificent temple' erected to Minerva. The site of the temple of Mars, is supposed to be occupied by the church of *S. Luca*. See page 320.

workmanship, are among the best in Rome. Within the nunnery built up behind the pillars, are said to be some remains of the internal peristyle.

Not far from this, and nearer to the Roman Forum, is another beautiful fragment, commonly called the Temple of Pallas. Two marble Corinthian columns, 11 feet in circumference, are seen in front of a wall composed of large blocks of peperino. Above them are an entablature and a continued pedestal, which break round the columns. The pedestal, as well as the frieze, is enriched with sculpture; and on its face, in the space between the two columns, is a figure of Pallas, while the other reliefs are supposed to represent the arts of which she was patroness. An arch is seen in the back-wall, filled up with similar masonry, and not corresponding to the situation of the columns. The mouldings are over-ornamented, and the details are not unexceptionable; indicating, Mr. Woods thinks, together with the disposition of the columns, the incipient decline of art; but the whole has been well executed. So late as 1614, Inigo Jones saw some of the temple itself remaining; but it was pulled down shortly afterwards, by Paul V., for the sake of the marble.

In the small square now called *Macel de' Corvi*, at the north-eastern foot of the Capitoline hill, are remains of the sepulchral monument of C. Publicius Bibulus; less remarkable for any beauty of architecture, than for its early date. The building is a small edifice of peperino, of which the front only is seen: this is ornamented with four pilasters of a sort of Doric order, plain and simple, but

of good proportion, and neatly executed It has been supposed that this monument, when erected, was without the walls, and stood in the *Campus Martius*. The date is uncertain, but is supposed to be about the year of Rome 630. An inscription records its erection by the senate and people of Rome, in honour of the virtues of the Plebeian Ædile whose name it bears. A house is now built over the tomb, and a kind of well of some depth may be seen within.*

The site of the Forum of Trajan is fortunately identified by the magnificent pillar still erect; and recent excavations have led to some interesting discoveries. ' Marble pavement in its original situation, steps, foundations of walls, numerous fragments of Corinthian columns, and four of the Corinthian bases belonging to them, remain in their places; and these, with the help of several pieces of travertine also unmoved, and evidently intended to receive similar bases, have enabled the directors to put the fragments in proper situations. What is principally laid open is the *Basilica;* and for this, it was necessary to destroy several houses and two convents. The width of the part now exposed, is believed to be about half the length of that edifice. Two churches† and a palace are in

* Burton, vol. i. p. 278. Lumisden, p. 155. Woods, vol. i. p. 463.

† One, *del nome di Maria*, is said to have been built ' after the deliverance of Vienna in 1683:' it has nothing to attract attention. The other, *S. Maria di Loreto*, designed by Sangallo, is an octagonal church with a double cupola, said to have furnished the model to that in the Vatican. It contains one of the finest productions of modern sculpture, the

the way of any further researches in the direction in which, if any where, the remains of the temple of Trajan would probably be found. The column still remains erect, a noble monument of the taste and skill of the architect Apollodorus.'*

This magnificent column is less remarkable for its height (124 feet, not including the statue),† than for the bas-reliefs with which it is adorned. It is of mixed and impure architecture,—a Tuscan base and capital, a Doric shaft, and a pedestal with Corinthian mouldings. The reliefs form a continued spiral round the column, giving the story a continuity which horizontal rings would interrupt, but rendering perspective impossible: to be 'legible,' the figures required to be lengthened as they rise. They present 'an immense field of antiquities,' no ancient monument giving the complete and real costume of its time so correctly as this column. Every figure is historical; 'nothing fabulous,' says Forsyth, 'except the Aurora and the Hesperus, which are but the times of action.'‡ There are about 2500 figures in all, which are two feet high in the lower part, and nearly double that height near the top.

This pillar was erected about A.D. 115, in com-

statue of Sta. Susanna by Francis du Quesnoy, called *Il Fiamingo* (the Fleming).

* Woods, vol. i. p. 462.

† Mr. Lumisden makes the shaft 95 feet, the pedestal, 20 feet 10 inches. P. Victor makes it 128 Roman feet, or about 124 feet English, which is given by Dr. Burton as the correct height excluding the statue. Vasi says, 142 feet, including the statue.

‡ The bas-reliefs have been engraved on a large scale, and published with a short description.

memoration of Trajan's two Dacian campaigns; but the conqueror never saw the proud memorial of his triumph. He was carried off by dysentery at Seleucia, while conducting the war against the Parthians. His ashes were brought home, and, as an especial and singular honour, were deposited in a golden ball at the top of the pillar.* A colossal statue of Trajan appears, from coins still extant, to have surmounted the whole, the head of which was found in the rubbish at the bottom. The feet were standing in the reign of Sixtus V., who erected in its place a statue of St. Peter, of gilt bronze, 11 feet in height. A spiral staircase within, of 184 steps, leads up to the balustrade at the top, which commands, of course, an extensive view of the city.

The other historical column, misnamed the Pillar of Antonine, (agreeably to the inscription placed there by Sixtus V. on repairing the column,) is now ascertained to have been erected to Marcus Aurelius. It stands in the *Piazza Colonna*, to which it gives name, and is now surmounted with a statue of St. Paul, 10 feet in height. The pillar itself is 122 feet, 8 inches high, including the base.† It exhibits the same mixture of orders as

* Burton, vol. i. p. 189.—The ball is said to be still preserved, and to be that which is seen on the mile-stone upon the balustrade of the Capitol. This ball appears to have been placed in the hand of the statue.

† Lumisden, p. 270.—The shaft is said to be 97 feet; the pedestal, 25 feet 8 inches. The ascent is by 190 steps, which is six more than in the pillar of Trajan. Dr. Burton states the whole height at 88 feet and a half; Vasi, at 160 feet.

that of Trajan, but its pedestal is restored, and, though higher, both in proportion and in situation, than Trajan's, does not associate so well with the shaft. The bas-reliefs surround the pillar, in like manner, in a spiral form, but are not so well executed, the figures being more prominent, more confused, and inferior both in sculpture and design. The column is also more defaced, having suffered, not merely from time, but repeatedly from lightning.

There remain to be noticed some interesting antiquities on the western side of the Forum, in that part of the eighth region which anciently bore the name of *Velabrum*,* and which included the *Forum Boarium*. No part of Rome presents a greater appearance of desolation and decay; and the irregular surface of the ground indicates that many buildings are buried under it. We begin with the Arch of Janus, which seems to have been a sort of *loggia* or open exchange, consisting of a quadrangular building pierced with two arcades cutting each other at right angles, each side of the quadrangle being 77 feet in length. It is ornamented with twelve niches on each side, apparently for statues. The Greek marble of which this *Janus* was built, proves it not to be of earlier date than the end of the Republic, and the antiquaries assign it to Domitian.† The lower part has only

* This name was applied generally to all the marshy ground on the left bank of the Tiber, between the Capitol and the Aventine. The ancient name is preserved in that of the church of *S. Giorgio in Velabro*.

† 'The *Janus Quadrifrons* is rather a *compitum*, than an

lately been excavated. The brick-work at the top is of the middle ages, when this Arch was fortified by the Frangipani family. The building has little pretensions to beauty of any kind. Very near to this, adjoining the church of *S. Giorgio in Velabro*, is the Arch erected by the merchants and goldsmiths of the *Forum Boarium* to Sept. Severus. In spite of its name, it is not an arch at all, but consists of an entablature supported on two piers, which are ornamented with pilasters of the Composite order: it is covered with a profusion of ornaments in bad taste, but producing some richness of effect;—'rich only with chiselling,' remarks Forsyth, 'over-crowded with objects of sacrifice; the offering of tradesmen, made to a tradesman's taste.'

The adjacent church of *Sta. Maria in Cosmedin*, vulgarly called *Bocca della Verita*, is a *basilica* of very early date, said to have been built by Pope St. Dionysius about 261, and repaired by St. Adrian I. in 772.* It is thought to occupy the site of the temple erected to *Pudicitia Patricia* (Patri-

arch, and is grand enough in its general proportions to be classed among those of Domitian, but mean details betray a worse stage of the art; rows of pigmy columns divided by imposts, and enormous cubes of marbles scooped and scolloped into niches.'—Forsyth.

* See page 188.—Stephen II., in 752, first established some Greeks here, who were driven from the East by Constantine Copronimus for worshipping images. Adrian I. and Nicholas I. added much to it. Attached to the church was a school for teaching Greek, whence it was called also *S. M. à Scuola Greca*. The title, *in Cosmedin*, has been variously interpreted, as referring to the *good order* of the school, or to the *ornaments* of the church, but is of uncertain etymology.

cian Chastity), but presents externally nothing of Pagan antiquity, except some fragments of architecture in the portico, and the large stone placed near its entrance, from which the church takes its common name. On this stone is represented a huge round face with an open mouth, which is believed to have been used as a kind of ordeal. The suspected person was required to make affirmation with his hand in the 'Mouth of Truth,' which, it was believed, would close upon him if he spoke falsely. The stone is ancient, and is supposed to have belonged to a figure of the Nile, or to have served as the mouth of some fountain; but the practice with which it was connected, is conjectured to have been derived from the ancient custom of swearing persons at the *Ara Maxima* erected near this spot, and which Evelyn mentions as still standing behind the church, though much demolished. The interior of the church exhibits nine large columns, which have evidently formed part of the peristyle of a temple, and probably remain in their original position. Seven of them have very beautiful Composite capitals. There is a very rich pavement of the sort called Byzantine, composed of tesselated marbles; and there are about twenty other small marble columns, the spoils of various buildings, with capitals of all ages from Titus to Constantine. Some walls of the ancient temple may be detected behind the choir. This church preserves also its ancient marble pulpit and reading-desk, and contains an ancient picture of the Virgin, which, we are told, floated of itself over sea from Greece about the year 800.*

* Burton, vol. ii. p. 216. Woods, vol. i. p. 348.

Near this church is the more beautiful and perfect remain, supposed to have been the Temple of Vesta, first consecrated under the title of *S. Stefano delle Carozze*, and now dedicated to *La Madonna del Sole*. Mr. Woods describes it as 'a small cell, partly of brick, partly of stone; the latter ancient, the former modern; surrounded with a peristyle of twenty elegant Corinthian columns of white marble, some of which have capitals in the Greek taste, and some rather more in the Roman.'* The entablature is entirely gone, as well as the ancient roof, which has been replaced with a covering of coarse tiles. The pillars are 35 feet in height; the diameter of the cell is 28 feet; and the circumference, 170 feet. The spaces between the pillars were, till lately, blocked up with brick-work, which has been cleared away, and the edifice is so far restored to its original appearance.†

Almost opposite to this edifice, near the *Ponte Rotto*, is the supposed temple of *Fortuna Virilis*,

* In the Greek order, the abacus is not cut off at the angles, the general form of the capital approaches that of a bell, and the foliage resembles some species of thistle. In the Roman, the angles of the abacus are cut off, the capital is funnel-shaped, and the foliage seems imitated from an olive-branch.

† Mr. Woods is disposed to refer the edifice to a period earlier than Augustus, when Greek artists were alone employed, before the Romans had formed to themselves a style of their own. Dr. Burton, as has already been stated, inclines to the opinion that this is really the *rotunda ædes* dedicated to Vesta, as restored by the wife of Septimius Severus. The Roman antiquaries, however, are now disposed to call it the Temple of Hercules Victor, built A.U.C. 480. Woods, vol. i. 348—50. Burton, vol. i. pp. 44—46. See p. 170 of the present volume.

now the church of *Sta. Maria Egiziaca*, belonging to the Armenians. It is an oblong edifice, of travertine, surrounded with eighteen pillars of the same stone, four of which formed a portico in front, while seven were ranged on each side. The pillars are Ionic, 26 feet high, and stuccoed. They sustain an entablature ornamented with festoons, ox-heads, children, and candelabra. The architecture is stigmatised by Mr. Woods, as clumsy and overcharged, looking rather better, however, in reality, than in the drawings, because the ornaments are in very low relief. Part of the old work having been much defaced, new mouldings have been badly executed in plaster, without the ornaments. The soil had accumulated up to the pedestals of the columns, covering the high base, and the steps leading up to the front, which have been recently excavated.

Opposite to this church is an old brick building, whimsically made up with fragments of better times, which tradition has dignified with the title of the Palace of Pontius Pilate! An inscription on the door records its erection by Nicholas, son of Crescentius and Theodora, which appears to be the only ground for the notion that it was the habitation of Cola di Rienzi (alias Nicholas Laurentii) the Tribune, in the fourteenth century.

The *Ponte Rotto* (Broken Bridge) represents the ancient *Pons Palatinus*, begun by Fulvius, Censor in A. U. C. 575, and finished by Scipio Africanus in 612. A little, and but very little, of the Roman work is visible. The present fragment is for the most part a papal structure of the sixteenth century, having never been repaired

since nearly half the bridge was carried away by the inundation of 1598. Near this bridge, the fishermen lay their nets for sturgeon.

Proceeding towards the Theatre of Marcellus, we meet with the church of *S. Nicolo in Carcere*, which has been thought to preserve in its name, some trace of the tradition, that the Temple of Filial Piety was here erected on the site of the Decemviral prisons, the scene of the well-known story of the 'Roman Piety.'* According to Pliny, however, the Theatre of Marcellus had displaced, in his time, both the temple and that part of the prison where it was built; it would therefore seem useless, Mr. Hobhouse remarks, to look for either in the present day. 'But at this church, there are evident remains, not of one only, but of two, and perhaps three temples, whose columns are incrusted in the lateral walls on each side. The antiquaries have assigned these triple vestiges to the Temple of Piety built by Acilius Glabrio, the Duumvir, to commemorate the victory of his father over Antiochus at Thermopylæ; to the Temple of Piety raised to the Roman Matron, and to a Temple of *Juno Matuta*. This is sufficiently bold, when, if we follow Pliny, the first did not exist in his time; when, according to Festus, there was only one temple; and when *Juno Matuta* is only known to have stood somewhere in the *Forum Olitorium*.... Notwithstanding the assertion of Pliny, a prison that went by the

* The name of the church, Mr. Hobhouse says, is *S. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano*,—a manifest blunder, as the Tullian prisons could never have been any where but on the *Clivus Capitolinus*.—See also Burton, vol. i. pp. 30—32

name of the Decemviral, existed near the Theatre of Marcellus in the days of the regionaries; and a Temple of Piety is recorded by Rufus in the *Forum Olitorium*. The name of the church is a very admissible evidence for the contiguity at least of the prison; and as the columns cannot have belonged to that structure, they may be assigned to any of the temples or basilicas noted as being in that quarter. Lucius Faunus says, there were in his time some vestiges of the prison; but the hole to which strangers are conducted by torch-light, at the base of the columns, can hardly have any reference to the ancient dungeon.'*

The church occupies the whole space of the middle temple of the three, which was a hexastyle, peripteral temple of the Ionic order, built of peperino, while parts of the peristyles of the others are built up in the side walls. Of that on the right, we may see a range of five columns with a sort of Corinthian capital. That on the left was Doric, and much smaller. They appear not to have been placed symmetrically, nor even parallel to each other.†

Of the Theatre of Marcellus, little can be seen, as it is incumbered with 'the formless mass of the Orsini palace;' and that little is occupied by a range of dirty shops. It is supposed to have consisted of four stories, but the two upper ones are entirely gone, and the lower one is half buried. This is considered as presenting the finest example remaining of the Roman Doric.‡ The story above

* Hobhouse, pp. 297—9. † Woods, vol. i. p. 351.
‡ 'The tall and effeminate Doric,' Dodwell styles it; and

this was Ionic, and they are considered as a very good specimen of the union of the two orders.* It is supposed that the upper two were Corinthian, as at the Coliseum. This theatre was the second established in Rome.† It was begun by Julius Cæsar, and finished by Augustus. Vitruvius speaks in high commendation of the beauty of the building. It was formed of large blocks of travertine, was 395 feet in diameter, and contained seats for 30,000 spectators. During the civil wars, it was converted into a fortress by the Savelli family. The Massimi family, into whose possession it afterwards came, employed Peruzzi to convert it into a palace; and the entrance to the court is by a steep ascent formed from the ruins of the theatre. It is now called the Orsini palace, from its present proprietor, the Duke of Gravina.

Of the Portico of Octavia, which Augustus erected near this Theatre, a fragment exists in a dirty and disagreeable situation near *S. Angelo in Pescheria.* Of the double row of pillars (270 in

the introduction of dentils in the cornice, is esteemed an unwarrantable license.

* 'The Ionic, ... too meagre at the Coliseum, too clumsy for its entablature at Marcellus's Theatre, irregular, nay, unequal at the Temple of Concord, full of disproportions in that of *Fortuna Virilis*.'—Forsyth.

† The first theatre of stone erected in Rome, was that of Pompey, which could contain 40,000 persons. It was occupied as a fortress by the Orsini in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but scarcely any remains are left. It was situated between *S. Andrea della Valle* and the *Ponte Sisto*, where some houses still preserve a curved form, which is ascribed to the ancient theatre. The theatre of Balbus is supposed to have formed by its ruins, the mound on which the *Palazzo Cenci* stands.

all) which formed this magnificent porch, four pillars and three pilasters are alone visible, although more may be blocked up in the adjacent buildings. Two pillars and two pilasters in one row, support a pediment; and two other pillars and one pilaster are standing nearly parallel to them. They are of white marble, of the Corinthian order, fluted, and well proportioned; but the effect is spoiled by the brick walls and arches which have been erected to supply the place of the deficient columns. Of the two temples of Jupiter and Juno, which were enclosed by the colonnade, there are no remains, except a single Composite capital, which may just be seen. The neighbouring church of *S. Maria in Portica*, ought to occupy the site of the *Ædes Junonis*.

We have reserved for the conclusion of the present chapter, a description of the most perfect and majestic edifice of ancient Rome,—the Pantheon of Agrippa. Whatever was its original character, 'whether it be the *caldarium* of a bath,* or a temple, a single or a double building, it is evidently,' Mr. Hobhouse remarks, 'that structure of which the ancients themselves spoke with rapture, as one of the wonders of Rome, whose vault

* 'The Abate Lazeri has done his utmost to prove this structure a bath, or, at least, not a temple; or, if it were a temple, he would shew that a temple does not always mean a religious edifice, but sometimes a tomb, and sometimes the mast of a ship; and that Pantheon was a band of soldiers... The name was a difficulty even in heathen times. There is no evidence that it was dedicated to all the gods, although such a persuasion prevailed with the early Christian writers.'—Hobhouse, p. 288. See also Burton, vol. i. p. 167.

was like the heavens, and whose compass was that of a region. Notwithstanding the repairs of Domitian, Hadrian, and Severus and Caracalla, it is probable that the later artists copied the old model, and that the Portico may still be said to belong to the age of Augustus.

'Knowing that we see what was one of the most superb edifices of the ancient city, at the best period of its architecture, we are surprised, when looking down on the Pantheon from one of the summits of Rome, at the mean appearance of its flat, leaden dome, compared with the many towering structures of the modern town; but the sight of the Portico from the opposite extremity of the market-place in front of the Rotonda, vindicates the majesty of the ancient capital.'*

'The first view of this building,' says Dr. Burton, 'will disappoint most persons. The round part may be pronounced decidedly ugly; and a Corinthian portico is certainly not so striking, when centuries have passed over it and disfigured it, as one of the Doric order. The two turrets or belfries, a modern addition by Bernini, must offend every eye. The situation of the building is also very bad, in a dirty part of the city, and closely surrounded with houses. The arches which appear in the second and third stories, are the continuation of the vaulting of the roofs which cover the chapels and the cavities cut out of the thickness of the wall. The Portico, however, is a majestic structure. The most inexperienced eye would observe a want of agreement between this and the body of the building. The cornice of the one does

* Hobhouse, p. 287.

not agree with the cornice of the other; and a singular effect is produced by there being a pediment on the temple, which rises above that of the portico, so that, in fact, there are two pediments. This has caused some controversy among the antiquaries; but it is now generally supposed, that Agrippa built the whole, though perhaps at different times, and the portico may have been an afterthought.*...

'The Portico is 110 feet long, by 44 deep, supported by sixteen columns of the Corinthian order. Each is of one piece of oriental granite, 42 feet high, without the bases and capitals, which are of white marble: they are about 15 feet in circumference... There is supposed to have been a bas-relief in the pediment; and, from the appearance of nails to fasten it, it was probably of bronze. Some fragments of a horse and car, discovered near the portico, confirm this idea. The ascent to the portico was formerly by seven steps, but is now only by two. L. Fauno, who wrote in 1548, says, that in his time, the entrance was by a *descent* of many steps, which was owing to the accumulation of soil from the ruin of neighbouring buildings. It was Alexander VII. who cleared this away, and made the entrance as it is at present.'†

Of the sixteen pillars which support the portico, eight are ranged in front, and the other eight in two rows behind. Thirteen of them occupy their

* Mr. Woods, however, adduces reasons for the supposition that the cell is *posterior* to the portico. See Woods, vol. i. p. 353.

† Burton, vol. i. pp. 167—176. In fact, the ground slopes down to the portico. See page 145.

original position, and three are restorations.* 'If the columns are not all mathematically equal,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'yet, inequalities which nothing but measurement can detect, are not faults to the eye, which is sole judge. But the portal is more than faultless: it is *positively* the most sublime result that was ever produced by so little architecture.'

'The marble coating which once covered what is now naked brick-work, is gone nobody knows where; and the bare walls and naked roof add to the grandeur of the edifice something of the melancholy of a ruin. The cieling of the portico was of gilt bronze. How this was disposed, is a question which has been much agitated: the probable opinion is, that it formed a panelled vault over each division. Urban VIII. took away this bronze, (then, as it appears, in a very decayed state,) formed from it the four twisted columns which support the canopy over the high altar of St. Peter's, and cast several cannon from the remainder.† The marble doorway corresponds, both internally and externally, to the architecture of the Portico, and not to that of the Pantheon itself: the open-

* Two of the ancient pillars are said to have been destroyed by fire, and a third appears to have been removed. One of them was replaced by Urban VIII. about 1627; and is marked by the insertion of the bee, the armorial badge of the Barberini, instead of flowers, in the abacus. The other two were restored by Alexander VII. in 1662: they are immediately behind the one restored by Urban VIII., and have the star, the bearing of the Chigi family, introduced into their capitals.

† 'One of the *nails*, weighing 47 lb. is said to be in England. The whole weight of nails was 9374 lb. The metal altogether weighed 450,250 lb.'

ing is about 19 feet wide, and 38 feet high. Within this are pilasters of bronze, which form the actual doorway. On this hang magnificent doors, also of bronze; and over them is a grating of the same metal. All these evidently belong to each other, and probably to the place where they are fixed: though it has been said, that the original ones were carried away by Genseric, and that these were supplied from some other edifice.'*

'I do not believe,' continues Mr. Woods, 'that there is any person so insensible to the effect of architecture, as not to feel the surpassing beauty of this building internally. The simplicity and grace of its form, the beautiful colour of its marbles, (principally of the *giallo antico*,) and the delightful effect of its single central light, force themselves upon our admiration.' The diameter of the interior of the Rotonda, (not including that of the walls, which are about 20 feet thick,) is very nearly 150 feet.† The height from the pavement to the summit, was originally the same as the diameter, but the floor has been raised to a level with that of the portico. The bases of the pillars shew that the pavement was formerly lower by seven or eight

* Woods, vol. i. p. 356. Mr. Forsyth considers them as at least of classical date. 'Their form is common on the ancient relievoes, not carved, like those of the Temple of Remus, but studded with a variety of *bullæ* and turning pivots.'

† Mr. Lumisden states the diameter at about 149 English feet; and says, the height was the same, before the floor was raised. Dr. Burton makes the present height 144 feet, and the diameter the same. 'From the floor to the base of the attic, is 40 feet 2 in. French.' In Vasi, both the diameter and the height are stated to be 142 feet.

feet, and there was a descent to it of several steps. The immense circular Hall is lighted only from the summit, by a circular opening in the dome, 28 feet in diameter, through which a flood of light diffuses itself over the whole edifice. This direct 'communication with the glorious firmament' lets in, of course, rain as well as light; and there is a reservoir, many feet below the present pavement, which slants towards the centre, to carry off the water. Round the church, (for such is now the Pantheon,) are seven recesses formed in the thickness of the walls. Six of these 'chapels' have each in front two fluted Corinthian columns of the rich marble above mentioned. The seventh, which is opposite the entrance, is open. Between these chapels, altars have been placed. Above the great cornice, which is of white marble, is an attic, decorated with fourteen niches: between these were pilasters of different marbles, which were removed by Benedict XIV.* The attic has an entablature, from which springs the vault which canopies the whole. This is supposed to have been covered with bronze panels; and round the central aperture, parts of the ancient bronze cornice still remain. It now presents 'an overwhelming extent of whitewash,' which brings the dome itself rather too near to the eye, and makes it occupy too much of the view.

'Perhaps,' says Forsyth, 'the interior elevation is beautiful where it should be grand. Its Corinthian, though exquisite, appears too low for the walls, and made the attic here a necessary evil.' This

* 'This part of the decoration, says Mr. Lumisden, 'was destroyed by Benedict XIV. while I was at Rome.'—Lumisden, p. 282.

tasteful critic would have had one grand order rise to the springing of the vault. Mr. Woods, too, objects, that the columns are too small in proportion to the size of the building, and that the entablature is disagreeably interrupted by two arches, which, being on a curved surface, have an awkward appearance. The attic, attributed to Septimius Severus, seems to have been, he thinks, well adapted to preserve the general impression of the building, and to give an increased value to the order below. The removal of the pilasters, by which a space is left above the columns, is stigmatised as a very injudicious alteration, the effect being now 'altogether bad.' Other faults are pointed out in the details of this matchless edifice. 'The little altars are all bad in design, and worse in execution, although not all equally so. In the interior order, the corona is too small, and the projection of the sima too great, giving to the cornice a thin and wiry edge. The mouldings are generally rather small; the panelling of the soffite of the cornice, is in oblongs, not in squares, which displeases; and the execution is not very perfect.'*

It must be recollected, however, that great changes have taken place in the interior. The raising of the floor several feet, by bringing the vault nearer to the eye, and increasing the apparent space above the grand order, must have considerably altered the original effect. It was in consequence of this, probably, that the attic was added by Septimius Severus; by whom (as an inscription on the architrave records) the edifice was repaired,

* Woods, vol. i. pp. 357—9. Forsyth, vol. i. p. 163.

about A.D. 203. According to Pliny, the Pantheon of Agrippa was adorned with *caryatides*, which passed for some of the finest works known, as did the statues at the top; but these, from their height, were less celebrated.* The critics are somewhat puzzled to decide where the *caryatides* could have been placed, unless they served as columns to the attic. But if so, the statues must have been still higher, and have been ranged, not in its niches, as supposed, but on the entablature, which cannot be deemed probable. The *caryatides* were evidently prominent ornaments; and the cornice of the principal order is not wide enough to have supported them.

It is remarkable, that the original design of the edifice, the etymology of the name, every thing relating to its early architecture, should be involved in uncertainty. It is generally supposed to have been erected by Agrippa, B.C. 26, in honour of Augustus's victory over Antony, and was dedicated, as Pliny asserts, to *Jupiter Ultor*. But was this rotonda the Pantheon so dedicated? In the construction of a temple, the external effect was chiefly studied · whereas that of the Rotonda is, separate from the portico, unimpressive; and although the rough brick-work was probably covered in some way, conjecture only can supply, and that not without difficulty, an ornamental elevation. On the other hand, ' detach the known additions, the portal,

* ' *Agrippæ Pantheum decoravit Diogenes Atheniensis; et caryatides in columnis templi ejus probantur inter pauca operum: sicut in fastigio posita signa, sed propter altitudinem loci minus celebrata.*'—Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 5. Cited by Lumisden, p. 283.

the columns, the altars,—strip the immense cylinder and its niches of their present ornaments, and you will then,' remarks Forsyth, 'arrive at the exact form of the *caldaria* now existing in Rome.' That this 'glorious combination of beauty and magnificence' was raised simply as a bath,—a temple of luxury, not of superstition, has, however, been deemed a supposition utterly inadmissible. Yet, the *thermæ* of the Romans vied with their most magnificent temples; and the Baptisteries of the Roman Church were probably ancient baths.

Whatever was its original purpose, it would seem certain that it has been a temple, and since then, has served alternately as a fortress * and a church. The Emperor Phocas made a present of this edifice to Pope Boniface IV., (A.D. 607,) who, having removed thither twenty-eight cart-loads of the relics of martyrs, dedicated it to the Virgin and All Martyrs. In 830, Gregory IV. changed the style to 'All Saints;' and upon this occasion, the festival of All Saints was introduced into the Calendar. It still bears the name, however, of *Sta. Maria ad Martires*, though more commonly called simply *La Rotonda*.† The fame of a miraculous image, a 'dirty cobweb-covered block preferred into divinity,' has lately crowded this church with devotees, at the expense of its pavement. The busts of Raffael,‡ Annibal Ca-

* In the time of Gregory VII., it was called *S. Maria in turribus*, and was defended by the Anti-pope Clement VII., when the Countess Matilda came to Rome in 1087. About 1191, it also received a papal garrison.—Hobhouse, p. 290.

† Burton, vol. i. p. 160. Hobhouse, p. 290.

‡ The bust of Raffael was removed, in 1820, to the Palace of the *Conservatori*.

racci, Pieria del Vaga, Zuccari, Metastasio, and other great men, artists and authors, have found a place here,—in somewhat incongruous assortment, Mr. Hobhouse says, ‘ with the many modern contemporary heads of ancient worthies, which now glare in all the niches of the Rotonda; and the little white Hermæan busts, ranged on ledges, side by side, give to this temple of immortality the air of a sculptor's study.’ A society of artists, it seems, is attached to this church, by whom it has been furnished with these monumental decorations.

——— ‘ To those
Who worship, here are altars for their beads;
And they who feel for genius, may repose
Their eyes on honoured forms, whose busts around them close.’

Of the Baths of Agrippa, which were situated behind the Rotonda, some remains are said to be visible in the sacristy of the church itself; and a semi-circular building, called *Arco della Ciambella*, near the Piazza of *S. Giovanni della Vigna*, is supposed to have formed part of them. Great part of the *Campus Martius* was surrounded, in the reign of Augustus, with porticoes and public buildings, for which the citizens were indebted chiefly to the munificence of Agrippa. On the northern side of the *Campus Martius*, close to the Tiber, was the Mausoleum of Augustus, which Strabo describes ‘ as raised to a considerable elevation on foundations of white marble, and covered to the summit with evergreen plantations. A bronze statue of Augustus crowned the whole. Within the *tumulus* were sepulchral chambers, containing his remains and those of his relatives and most

intimate friends. The ground behind the Mausoleum was laid out in groves and walks, which had an admirable effect.'* Of all this splendour, little now remains, except a circular mass of immense thickness, composed of rubble with facings of reticulated work; and the fallen ruins have formed a terrace of considerable elevation, which is fitted up as a sort of amphitheatre for the exhibition of fire-works and bull-fights. This would seem to be the remains of the first story, and consequently of the lower concentric circle or terrace; but both the ancient and the modern descriptions of this splendid Mausoleum are at once obscure and contradictory. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Mausoleum was occupied by the Colonna as a fortress, from which they were dislodged by the arms of Frederic Barbarossa.

Here we find ourselves beyond the precincts of the ancient city, to which we must not return. The greatest wonder of Modern Rome, the rival of the Pantheon, the temple of *Jupiter Petrus*, remains to be described.

* Cited by Cramer, vol. i. p. 438. Burton, vol. i. p. 291. Lumisden, pp. 252—4.—' The space within the circumference of the walls,' the latter Writer states, ' serves now for a small garden or parterre to the Corea (Vivaldi) palace, in the *Strada de' Pontefici*, near the church of *S. Rocco*.' The *bustum* where the imperial bodies were burned, is supposed to have occupied the site of the church of *La Madonna del Popolo*.

CHAPTER V.

ROME.

St. Peter's—The Vatican—Modern Rome.

'"THE huge temple on which we now stand," (for, from St. Peter's proud dome went forth this bitter diatribe,) "built at the expense of the whole Roman world, on a foundation which stands awry, and with a cupola which yawns with rents, contains absolutions for every sin, as well as confessionals appropriated to every language."' Such is the moral picture (if we may so express it) of St. Peter's, as portrayed by the eloquent and philosophic author of 'Anastasius.' But he who would enjoy, in all their luxury, the impressions which this glorious pile is adapted to produce, must leave at the portal his reflections,—'turn his back,' as Mr. Woods recommends, 'upon all his knowledge,' postpone his criticisms, and surrender himself to the emotions and illusions of taste. Then he will feel to be in the very presence-chamber of the Enchantress Superstition, who has here surrounded herself with all the pomp of art. The symmetry, the vastness, the depth, the beauty, the lightness of the architecture, will produce feelings of delight which he will often wish to recall, but may not care to analyze. Such is the power which this structure exerts upon the imagination,

that, to those who have visited it, one of the most painful thoughts occasioned by leaving Rome, is, that they may see St. Peter's no more.

It is of the interior chiefly that we speak, which must be allowed to combine at least all the elements of magnificence.* 'The nave,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'is infinitely grand and sublime, without the aid of obscurity; but the eye, having only four pillars to rest on, runs along it too rapidly to comprehend its full extent. Its elevation and width forbid all comparison with the side-aisles, which hardly deserve the common name of *navate*, and seem but passages leading along the chapels. The cupola is glorious. Viewed in its design, its altitude, or even its decoration,—viewed either as a whole, or as a part, it enchants the eye, it satisfies the taste, it expands the soul. The very air seems to eat up all that is harsh or colossal, and leaves us nothing but the sublime to feast on;—a sublime peculiar as the genius of the immortal architect, and comprehensible only on the spot. The four surrounding cupolas, though but satellites to the majesty of this, might have crowned four elegant churches. The elliptical *cupolettas* are

* 'To produce the effect of magnificence in architecture,' remarks Mr. Woods, 'three things seem to be necessary,—greatness of dimension, simplicity of design, and richness of decoration. To satisfy the mind after examination, three other things are requisite, correctness of proportion, graceful drawing, and delicate execution. Of these six points, St. Peter's has the first in a high degree, something of the second, and a great deal of the third. The latter three, it also possesses, though not in a very remarkable degree: the proportions do not offend, and the drawing and execution are good.'—Woods, vol. i. p. 380.

mere expedients to palliate the defect of Maderno's aisles, which depend on them for a scanty light.

'No architecture ever surpassed, in effect, the interior of this pile, when illuminated, at Easter, by a single cross of lamps. The immediate focus of glory,—all the gradations of light and darkness,—the fine or the fantastic accidents of this *chiaro-scuro*,—the projection of fixed or moving shadows,—the sombre of the deep perspectives,—the multitude kneeling round the pope,—the groupes in the distant aisles; what a world of pictures for men of art to copy or to combine! What fancy was ever so dull, or so disciplined, or so worn, as to resist the enthusiasm of such a scene!'*

Another graphic sketch of the same scene, viewed by a different light, has been supplied by the pen of Mr. Williams. 'The view of the interior of St. Peter's is, perhaps, the best near the bronze statue of St. Peter.† We saw it under the most striking effect, adorned with the beams of the sun, playing upon its gorgeous magnificence,—the noble dome with its various colossal paintings in Mosaic, of angels, prophets, and apostles, the latter, in the spandrils, at least 25 feet in height. In the transept of the cross are seen the noble sepulchral monuments of the Popes, by Canova, Bernini, Michael Angelo, and others; splendid pictures in Mosaic, designed by Raffael, Domenichino, Guercino, and Guido, scarcely distinguishable from the finest paintings; grand columns of marble, porphyry, and granite, the gigantic supporters of

* Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 216, 17; 220.

† 'The statue of Jupiter Capitolinus furnished the material for this statue of Peter

the dome, each of which, were it hollow, would contain hundreds of people. Numerous colossal statues of saints, in niches, at least 13 feet high; the various and precious stones which impanel the walls of the whole building; the richness of the ornamented roof; the galleries from which the relics are occasionally exhibited; the great altar of Corinthian brass, by Bernini, (the height of which is not less than that of the highest palace in Rome,) with its twisted columns wreathed with olive; the hundred brazen lamps continually burning, and surrounding the tomb of the patron saint, with its gilded bronze gate, enriched to the utmost with various ornaments; the massive silver lamps; the hangings of crimson silk; the chair of St. Peter, supported by two popes, statues of great magnitude; the pavement, composed of the most rare and curious marbles of beautiful workmanship; the statue of St. Peter, with a constant succession of priests and persons of all descriptions kissing his foot;—form a whole not to be paralleled on earth: especially when seen, as I saw it, with the sun's beams darting through the lofty windows of the dome, throwing all into mysterious light, tipping the gilded and plated ornaments, and giving additional richness to the colours of the Mosaic painting, and to the burnished silver lamps, which sparkled like little constellations; while the effect of all was heightened by the sound of the organ at vespers, swelling in notes of triumph, then dying upon the ear, and sinking into the soul; the clear, melodious tones of the human voice, too, filling up the pauses of the organ, diffusing a deeper solemnity through this

great temple, and making us feel an involuntary acknowledgment to God, who had gifted man with such sublime conceptions.'*

The feelings excited by this edifice, in a pious mind, will be of a very mixed and varying character. 'How perfect a contrast of feeling have I experienced sometimes,' says another elegant Writer, 'when standing within that majestic edifice of St. Peter's! This hour, the quietness, the warmth, the beauty, the fragrance, the light, the solitude, the vastness of the scene, have placed me in an element with which earth has been scarcely connected. I have felt detached from all human and immediate interests. The presence of God has cheered my spirit, and united me to all the lofty objects of eternity. The next hour, the scene has been wholly changed. I have seen the multitude kiss the image which *was* that of Jupiter, and *is* that of St. Peter; I have heard the addresses to God in a language which the people cannot understand; I have considered the repugnance of the Government to education, the jealousy with which the diffusion of the Scriptures is regarded; and all the previous enchantment has vanished from my mind. I have been compelled to turn from the magnificence of art, from the beauty of sculpture, from the lofty aspirations of an outward edifice, from the balmy breath of a fragrant atmosphere, from the fine emblems of heaven and eternity,—to the appalling consideration, that the beams of truth have feebly irradiated these walls; that the chillness of a moral death

* Williams, vol. i. pp. 289—291.

reigns eternally within them; that the very structure which had given the former enchantment to my senses and my heart, owes its existence to the ambition and despotism of human crime; and that, in very truth, these magnificent buildings are, in the words of an energetic writer,* "as triumphal arches erected in memorial of the extermination of that Truth which was given to be the light of the world and the life of men." How fearful is the consideration, that all the best faculties of the mind and the hand have thus been seized by a foreign force, and made instrumental against the happiness of their possessors, and against the glory and authority of Him who called them into existence!†

And now, with sobered feelings, the reader may be willing to hear, what are the faults with which this magnificent edifice is chargeable. On first entering St. Peter's, every one is astonished that its dimensions appear so much less than they really are. This has been, on the one hand, objected as a serious defect; on the other hand, adduced as a merit; according to the opposite causes to

* Foster.—The passage referred to occurs in the Author's Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance, and is one of the finest bursts of moral eloquence in our literature. 'If,' says the Writer, 'we could imagine a momentary visit from Him who once entered a fabric of sacred denomination with a scourge, because it was made the resort of a common traffic,—with what aspect and voice, with what infliction but the "rebuke with flames of fire," would he have entered this mart of iniquity, assuming the name of his sanctuary, where the traffic is in delusions, crimes, and the souls of men!'

† Arvendel, or Sketches of Italy, &c. pp. 39—41.

which it has been deemed attributable. By some, it has been supposed to be owing to the justness of the proportions of the building; by others, it is ascribed to disproportion. Mr. Forsyth attempts to explain it by remarking, that at Rome, the eye is accustomed to noble dimensions, and measures St. Peter's by a larger scale;—an observation unworthy of the Writer's acuteness, since the eye measures objects by no such ideal standard supplied by recollection, but by their apparent relative dimensions. 'The true cause of the apparent diminution of St. Peter's, in part at least,' says another accomplished critic, 'may be the great magnitude of the numerous statues in the church. These are, in fact, all colossal; and as our eye is accustomed to statues very near the size of life, they serve as a false standard by which we measure the church in which they stand. We suspect also, that statues of white marble have, from their brilliancy of colour, the appearance of being much nearer to the eye than they really are, which must of course diminish their apparent magnitude, and render the scale afforded by them still more fallacious. The great light of St. Peter's, especially when contrasted (as it will be involuntarily) with the gloominess of our own Gothic cathedrals, contributes to the same effect of reducing its seeming dimensions.'*

Mr. Woods agrees with this critic, in considering the size of the statues as one of the causes which diminish the apparent magnitude of the building. The sculpture all over the church, he remarks, is

* Quart. Rev., vol. xxxii. p. 53.

too large, except the *Pietà* of Michael Angelo. Under the dome are four great figures, each about 16 feet high, to receive which the niches are made too large for the architecture, and the figures are made too large for the niches. But in the architecture itself, he finds an explanation, in part, of the defect. The nave is composed of alternate arches and piers, with two Corinthian pilasters in each pier. Now a column is made to diminish upwards, usually one-sixth of its diameter; but a pilaster is not made to diminish, and the disproportionate size of the details of its capital, tends to diminish by comparison the other parts; so that a room ornamented with pilasters, will look smaller than one surrounded with columns. 'Another source of deception may be found in the panels of coloured marbles in the pilasters of the second order: the contrast brings the object apparently nearer, and consequently makes it look smaller; and this effect is assisted by the overcharged sculpture of these panels, and its great projection, rather than relief. A third source of error is in the figures of the spandrils of the principal arches. A number of colossal angels are crawling out of their triangular holes, and sprawling over the lines of the archivolt below them, and of the entablature above: they look as if they must fall out, and it is a great pity they do not. These have no inconsiderable effect in diminishing the apparent size of the architecture. The fourth cause of deception is in the too great size of the orders of the altars. The church has three orders; the large one which supports the vaulting; a secondary one belonging to the side arches and the aisles,

and also forming an essential part of the edifice; and a third to the altars, which is mere furniture. This last cuts the lines of the entablature of the second order, and thus gains size for itself, at the expense of the building.' *

After all, that the dimensions of the church should appear to the eye less than they really are, is an offence against economy,—a waste of expense and labour,—a miscalculation, rather than a blemish in the edifice. If the first effect is lessened by this circumstance, there is the more scope for surprise and admiration as the result of discovery, when the spectator gradually acquires the power of correcting his impressions, and of receiving the full idea of its vast proportions. The pyramids themselves disappoint at the first view; and it is only by treading the long line of their base, that any adequate idea is obtained of their mountainous elevation. Mr. Forsyth adverts to more serious defects. 'Perhaps,' he says, 'the picturesque has been too much studied in the interior. The bronze canopy and wreathed columns of the high altar, though admirably proportioned, and rich beyond description, form but a stately toy, which embarrasses the cross. The proud chair of St. Peter, supported by the fingers of four scribbling doctors, is, in every sense, a trick. The very pillars are too fine. Their gaudy and contrasted marbles resemble the pretty assortments of a cabinet, and are beneath the dignity of a fabric like this, where the stupendous dimen-

* Woods, vol. i. pp. 373, 4.

sions accord only with simplicity, and seem to prohibit the beautiful.'*

One of the greatest faults of the building, is generally thought to be, its having been lengthened into a Latin cross, instead of a Greek one, as intended by Michael Angelo. 'It is difficult,' remarks Mr. Woods, 'to assign precisely to each architect his part in the building; but it is certain, that the original design of Bramante, was for a Latin cross. San-gallo and Raffael, who successively followed Bramante, kept to this general idea, though each proposed some alterations. Peruzzi reduced it to a Greek cross; and one arm at least of the cross was executed, and, perhaps, a considerable portion of the walls of the rest of the building carried up, before Michael Angelo had anything to do with it. Under him, the plan was that of a Greek cross, consisting of a large dome in the centre, and four equal, square recesses, to three of which a semi-circular tribune was added; the fourth, or that of the entrance, was consequently shorter than the rest....Probably, had Michael Angelo had the entire design, he would have omitted altogether the semi-circular tribunes; but he did not like to destroy what had been executed. With all these considerations present to

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 217.—'Vaults and cupolas so ponderous,' it is added, 'could be trusted only to massive pillars. Hence, flat surfaces, which demand decoration; hence, idle pilasters and columns, which never give beauty, unless they give also support: yet, remove every column, every pilaster that you find within this church, and nothing essential to its design would fall.

my mind, I confess I cannot wish that the nave were not executed: it is so beautiful in itself, that some degree of want of harmony with the dome may be forgiven to it. I must mention among the faults, that, while the vault of the nave is very beautifully gilt, the principal order which supports the vault is entirely without gilding,—a transition which is displeasingly abrupt; and the roof, and the pilasters and entablature, do not seem to belong to each other. The work appears as if you could take out the arches, and leave the main piers and pilasters standing. The side-aisles do not form one continued corridor, but are divided into a series of little rooms, by columns and piers supporting arches, the latter going up into the circular pediments, which appear to be supported by the order. The whole arrangement of these side-aisles is entirely bad. The niches squeezed in between the pilasters in the principal nave, are also to be considered as defects.' But these faults or deficiencies are not perceived or felt at a first glance. 'We see a great deal of really rich and beautiful material, and give credit for something more, which is not so distinctly seen. Afterwards, when we examine the whole, we find so much of rich and beautiful, that we are willing to overlook what is wanting.'*

It is said to have been the boast of Michael Angelo, that he would raise the dome of the Pantheon, and suspend it in the air. Whatever merit may attach to the idea, is due, however, to Bramante, since the cupola designed by him was cer-

* Woods, vol. i. pp. 377—379.

tainly 'in pendentive,' while that of Brunelleschi bears perpendicularly on its foundations.* Towards the end of the seventeenth century, an alarm was excited, that the dome was about to give way. Fontana in consequence examined it, and found there were indeed some cracks, but none of any consequence. In 1742, a fresh alarm was raised, and many mathematicians and architects were called upon for their opinions, and gave very discordant ones. Mr. Woods thinks, that there never was any just ground for alarm. The cracks in the buttresses indicate that there has been a considerable settlement of the drum upon the pendentives, but not more than might have been expected. It was nevertheless deemed advisable to insert five bands of iron in the masonry; and the dome and its drum are now secured by eight iron bands; five in the drum, one in the springing of the arch, and two on the surface of the dome.

There is no distant point of view in which this church gives the impression of great magnificence,

* See page 324 of our second volume. There is in the Vatican, a model of half the cupola, which is believed to have been made under the direction of Michael Angelo, previously to carrying it into execution. It is carried down cylindrically to the floor, so that it does not exhibit the mode of construction in pendentive. The first church in which a cupola was erected on the principle of that of St. Peter's, is supposed to have been S. Sophia at Constantinople: the diameter of its dome is 113 feet, but the height from the ground is only 180 feet. The cupola of the cathedral at Florence is 138 feet in diameter, and 299 feet from the ground. That of St. Peter's is 139 feet in diameter, and the height to the lantern is 393 feet. The oldest church with a cupola, in Rome, is said to be *S. Agostino*, built in 1483.—Burton, vol. i. p. 103.

or from which it has the appearance of being such an immense building as it really is. This is owing to the situation, in a hollow between the Janiculine and Vatican hills, which are connected by a neck behind it; so that, on three sides, it is surrounded with slopes rising almost immediately from it, to about the height of the nave; and in front, in spite of the large space before it, it seems encumbered by houses, which occupy a slip extending from the church to the river. Perhaps no building of great consequence, Mr. Woods remarks, was ever so badly placed. From the bridge of S. Angelo, little is seen but the dome itself. After passing it, we proceed along a dirty, narrow street, whence nothing is to be seen. A glimpse is caught at length, of part of the front, and of the extremity of the circular colonnade; but, seen from this disadvantageous point of view, the church appears much nearer than it really is; and when the circular colonnade opens in all its magnificence, the avenue appears a finer object than the main edifice to which it leads.

The colonnade, which is considered as the master-piece of Bernini, is composed of four rows of columns, 40 feet high and 5 feet in diameter, with their complete entablature, enclosing an area 728 feet by 606. The pillars are 256 in number, and they are surmounted with 192 statues of saints, each 11 feet in height. In the centre, an Egyptian obelisk nearly 84 feet in height,* rises be-

* This obelisk, which is without hieroglyphics, is of one piece unbroken, and was the only one that remained erect during the middle ages. Including the pedestal and all the ornaments its whole height is 180 palms or 132 feet.

tween two magnificent fountains,—the more beautiful for being mere fountains of ever-flowing water, without tritons, nymphs, or any other ornamental accessories. The whole effect is rich and striking in the highest degree, though deficient in majesty, and more beautiful in itself, than as an approach to St. Peter's. It looks better, in fact, any way than towards the church. Mr. Forsyth speaks of it in terms of somewhat ambiguous admiration. 'How beautiful the colonnades! How finely proportioned to the church! How advantageous to its flat, forbidding front, which ought to have come forward, like the Pantheon, to meet the decoration! How grand an enclosure for the Piazza! How fortunate a screen to the ignoble objects around it. But, advance or retire, you will find no point of view that combines these accessories with the general form of the church. Instead of describing its whole cycloid on the vacant air, the cupola is more than half hidden by the front; a front at variance with the body, confounding two orders in one, debased by a gaping attic, and encumbered with colossal apostles. One immense Corinthian goes round the whole edifice in pilasters, which meeting a thousand little breaks and

It stood originally in the Circus of Nero, and its actual position, in the passage now leading from the sacristy to the choir, is marked by a square stone. It was buried to the top of the pedestal by the accumulation of marshy soil, when, in 1586, it was removed to its present situation, by order of Sixtus V., under the direction of the celebrated architect Fontana. It was brought from Heliopolis in the reign of Caligula, who dedicated it to Augustus and Tiberius.—Burton, vol. i. pp. 264—269.—Cadell, vol. i. p. 357.

projections, are coupled and clustered on the way, parted by windows and niches, and overtopped by a meagre attic. Yet, the general mass grows magnificently out, in spite of the hideous vestry which interrupts it on one side, and the palace which denies it a point of view on the other.'*

The main front, consisting of three stories and an attic, with nine windows to each story, and heavy balconies awkwardly intersecting the Corinthian columns and pilasters of the pediment at half-height, looks far more like an enormous and showy palace, than a church; and this division of the height, together with the breaks in the entablature, has the effect of greatly lessening the apparent dimensions. The dome, rising far behind the gay front, to which it ill corresponds, scarcely seems to belong to it; while the Vatican Palace close by, on higher ground, absolutely appears to overtop the cathedral. In short, Mr. Simond's opinion, though severe, seems to be in accordance with the general sentiment; that, as regards the exterior, the edifice, if viewed as a palace, is not comparable with the colonnade of the Louvre; as a temple, is inferior to our St. Paul's; while, 'in solemn and profoundly religious effect,' it is far surpassed by most of the Gothic cathedrals of the middle ages.

The front of St. Peter's is 160 feet in height, and 396 feet in width. The pillars are 88 feet in height, including the base and capital, and 8 feet and a quarter in diameter. The length of the church, within the walls, is 837 Roman palms,

* Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 214, 215.

or about 607 English feet;* the transept, 444 feet; and the height from the pavement of the church to the summit of the cross, is 448 feet.† This enormous pile nowhere unfolds its

* On a line drawn along the middle of the pavement, from the western to the eastern door, the respective lengths of St. Peter's itself and of five other churches, are marked as follows:—

St. Peter's . . .	837 palms.	607 feet.
St. Paul's, London .	710 ..	515
Milan Cathedral .	606 ..	439
St. Paul's, Rome .	572 ..	415
St. Sophia, Constant.	492 ..	356

† Scarcely any two books agree as to the dimensions of St. Peter's, or, indeed, as to those of the other great edifices with which it may be properly compared. Eustace makes out St. Peter's to be 700 feet in length, and 440 in height; assigning to the nave a breadth of 90 feet, and a height of 154 feet. Mr. Matthews, following the English Vasi, reduces these dimensions to 673 feet, extreme length; height, to the top of the cross, 448 feet; the nave, 88 feet in breadth, and 146 in height. Mrs. Starke states the interior length at 614 feet; the breadth of the nave, 207; the height to the top of the cross, 448. In a note, however, it is stated that, 'according to Vasi,' the interior length from the entrance to the Tribune, below the chair of St. Peter, is 575 Paris feet; the breadth of the nave, 82 feet; height of the nave, 142; and the extreme height to the top of the cross, 424 feet. Dr. Burton makes the height 485 feet, and seems to wish to bring the great pyramid below it. Mr. Cadell states the length at 607 feet, answering to 837 palms; the height of the cross above the base of the obelisk, at 471 feet, and 502 feet above the Tiber. He has also given a scale of the extreme heights of the largest existing edifices, not altogether correct. According to the best authorities, they will be as follows:—

Great Pyramid . .	461 (or 499) feet.
St. Peter's, Rome .	448
Sta. Maria del Fiore (Florence)	384
St. Paul's, London .	370
Pantheon . .	144

dimensions so strikingly as on the roof, ' where cupolas form streets, which are elsewhere lost to every eye but the birds', and the dome appears in itself one immense temple, encircled with magnificent columns.' We seem to be in a town founded on a vast rock, rather than on the top of an edifice.* ' The building is perfect without this wooden roof; but, as vaults covered with stucco are seldom entirely impervious to the weather, it was necessary to erect it It is slight, and rests entirely upon the vaulting, so that the whole might be blown away, and no mischief done to the edifice.' A long, winding, paved road ascends to the leads, as if to the summit of a mountain; up which, when repairs are going forward, there is a continual passage of horses and mules. A long series of staircases and ascending passages conduct to the top of the dome, whence a view is obtained over the whole Campagna, to the amphitheatre of hills by which it is enclosed on three sides, backed by the peaks of the loftier Apennines, and to the blue waters of the Mediterranean in the west.

But before undertaking the excursion to the top of St. Peter's, the visiter ought to descend into the vaults, the pavement of which, in part at least, is that of the ancient *basilica* of Constantine. There is one large and four smaller subterranean chapels.

The Cathedral at Vienna is said to be 465 feet high, and that of Strasburg, 456 feet. The spire of old St. Paul's is said to have been at one period 520 feet high.

* ' Small houses and ranges of workshops for the labourers employed in the never ending repairs, are built here, and are lost upon this immense leaden plain, as well as the eighteen cupolas of the side chapels, which are not distinguishable from below.'—Rome, &c. vol. ii. p. 274.

'Pavements of beautiful inlaid marble, curious old mosaics of the earliest ages of Christianity, laborious gilt paintings by Greek artists of the same era, and a profusion of other ornaments, richly adorn the interior; while marble sculpture and bronze bas-reliefs on the splendid shrine of the apostles, represent the great miracles of their lives, and their images shine on a ground of gold above the great altar erected over the spot of their interment. But, although it seems that St. Paul and a great many saints and martyrs were buried here, their merits are quite lost in those of St. Peter. This holy sepulchre is surrounded with a circular vault, which is lined with the tombs of popes, saints, and emperors, besides a long list of deposed or abdicated princes. The last representatives of our own Stuarts, the Emperor Otho, and a Queen of Jerusalem, are buried here. The famous Countess Matilda and Queen Christina of Sweden have a place in the Cathedral above.'*

The ancient *basilica* of St. Peter's† was verging to ruin, when, in 1447, Pope Nicolas V. first undertook to erect a new edifice which might rival the temple of Solomon; but he died before any steps were taken towards realizing his magnificent design. The idea was resumed by Julius II.; and several rival artists were invited to present their plans, among which that of Bramante was preferred. That architect accordingly began to clear

* Rome, &c. vol. ii. pp. 251, 2.

† Erected by Constantine. The plans and elevations handed down to us, exhibit a church of the same general arrangement as the *Basilica* of *S. Paolo*, but of smaller dimensions

the ground for the edifice in 1506; but the building had made but little progress at the time of his death, in 1514. From that period to 1546, the work proceeded slowly, under the various architects employed by successive pontiffs, by whom the original design was repeatedly modified or extended. In fact, the building had become a standing job, when Michael Angelo, at the request of Pope Paul III., disinterestedly undertook the gratuitous superintendence of the works. To what point he carried the work, is not known; but the whole, as far as the extent of the Greek cross, seems to have been continued nearly according to his design. He died in 1564, and was succeeded by Vignola, who erected the two smaller cupolas. The great dome was erected under the direction of Giacomo della Porta (a pupil of Vignola) and Domenico Fontana; and occupied the labour of 600 men for two and twenty months: it was completed, all but the lantern, in 1590. The nephew of Fontana, Carlo Maderno, by lengthening the nave, brought the building into the shape of a Latin cross, for which he has been 'plentifully abused:' he also erected the front, in which he seems to have failed as much in construction as in taste, since the foundations gave way before the work was completed.* Under him, the cathedral

* 'Michael Angelo left it (the church) an unfinished monument of his proud, towering, gigantic powers; and his awful genius watched over his successors; till at last, a wretched plasterer came down from Como, to break the sacred unity of the master-idea; and him we must execrate for the Latin cross, the aisles, the attic, and the front. — Forsyth

may be said to have been finished. Bernini added the galleries and the colonnades, and adorned (or incumbered) the interior with the chair and the confessional of St. Peter. The sacristy was erected in 1780, under the direction of Marchionni;—a vast building, enriched with the most precious marbles, but it is neither beautiful in itself, nor does it form an appropriate addition to the main edifice. Altogether, the building may be said to have been going forward during three centuries and a half, under thirty-five pontifical reigns; and if any dependence can be placed on the loose calculation of Fontana, must have cost from fifteen to twenty millions sterling. And for what purpose? To cover a fictitious sepulchre,* to perpetuate a silly legend, to enthrone a pagan idol

* Whether St. Peter was ever at Rome, has been questioned by learned Protestant writers, which has furnished occasion for the witty sarcasm:

'*An Petrus Romæ fuerit, sub judice lis est:*
Simonem Romæ nemo fuisse negat.'

If Peter went to Rome, has long been mooted:
That Simon has been, cannot be disputed.

Lardner, however, gives credit to the evidence, which Dr. Burton also pronounces irresistible, that the Apostle undoubtedly visited Rome, although the legend which makes him either the founder or the resident bishop of the church at Rome, is without the shadow of authority or probability. He is supposed to have suffered there, during the persecution of Nero; and, according to Jerom, was buried in the Vatican, near the Triumphal Way. As to the precise spot, all that is certain is, that it could not be where the pretended Tomb is fixed, unless he was buried in the Circus of Nero,—a spot sacred to the gods, and surrounded with the imperial pleasure-grounds. See Burton, vol. ii. pp. 243—7. Lardner, vol. vi. pp. 235—254.

under an Apostolic name, and to afford a theatre for a scenic display having not the remotest affinity to Christian worship.

St. Peter's and the immense Palace of the Vatican, have been described as a world in themselves. The architecture of the palace, though considerable merit may be allowed to its general composition and proportions, has nothing in its appearance very magnificent or pleasing.* The *Cortile* of San Damaso is surrounded on three sides with the buildings of the Palace and its two chapels, the Sistine and the Pauline : the fourth is inclosed by a plain wall. The whole pile of building, together with the gardens, is said to comprise a circuit of some miles; and the number of apartments is reckoned at 4422 ! † Of these, we can attempt no description. The galleries, the museums, and the library of the Vatican, it is only necessary that we should simply name. They cannot be disposed of by such brief notice as has been given to minor collections in other cities, which required to be pointed out to the attention of the traveller. Every one who visits the Vatican, will of course provide

* For upwards of a thousand years from the time of Constantine, the popes resided in the Lateran palace; but during their residence at Avignon, it fell into such decay, that Gregory XI., who restored the holy see to Rome, removed to the Vatican, which was rendered secure, during those turbulent times, by its vicinity to the castle of St. Angelo. Paul III. was the first pontiff who took up his residence in the palace on the Monte Cavallo; and his successors have followed his example, visiting the Vatican merely for the celebration of ceremonies. Burton, vol. ii. p. 254.

† Bonanni swells the number to 13,000 !

himself with a full description of its inexhaustible treasures of art; and any thing short of this could hardly be acceptable even to the general reader. Nor can we find room for what would be more amusing in the detail,—the ceremonies of the Holy Week; the processions, the theatric ceremonial, the illuminations, the music,—the 'overwhelming *Miserere*' of the sacred melodrama, the sights and shows that crowd upon each other, and, what is finer than all, the fire-works,—'the most brilliant spectacle in the world.' All these have been often described, as well as the fooleries of the Carnival. Possibly, they please most in description. But we must resist the temptation to dilate upon them. The most wonderful circumstance is, that, in the nineteenth century, such things are.

The principal churches in Rome, have already been described. Among the more modern ones, that of *S. Andrea della Valle*, in Mr. Woods's opinion, deserves the first place for the beauty of its architecture. The two churches of the Jesuits, formerly ranked next to St. Peter's for their riches; and that dedicated to St. Ignatius, from a design of Vignola, is worthy of his talents. The church of *Sta. Agnese* in the Piazza Navona, the masterpiece of Rainaldi, is praised by Mr. Woods 'as a very delightful little building,' and the best of those in which the plan of the Greek cross has been adopted. The front is by Borromini; 'and, though not free from his extravagancies and his idly crooked lines, is the finest thing he has done.' *S. Pietro in Vincoli* is deserving of mention, chiefly on account of its possessing one of the noblest productions of modern art. 'Here,' says

Forsyth, ' sits the Moses of Michael Angelo, frowning with the terrific eyebrows of Olympian Jove. Homer and Phidias, indeed, placed their god on a golden throne: but Moses is cribbed into a niche, like a prebendary in his stall. Much wit has been levelled of late at his flowing beard and his flaming horns. One critic compares his beard to a goat's; another, his dress to a galley-slave's. But the true sublime resists all ridicule: the offended Lawgiver frowns on undepressed, and awes you with inherent authority.'

S. Pietro in Montorio, built on the supposed spot where St. Peter was crucified, also deserves notice. ' Bramante has erected a round, little, dappled, Doric church, which is much admired as a model of the ancient temple. As a model, indeed, it is beautiful enough, a beautiful epitome; but, in architecture, design and proportion are not sufficient: dimension is another element of beauty. In its present dimensions, the Pantheon is sublime: but reduce it to the tiny span of this templet on Montorio, and it would degenerate into the pretty.'*

Modern Rome, apart from its antiquities and its galleries of art, contains little to interest; but these are inexhaustible. There are said to be no fewer than three hundred churches and three hundred palaces. Of the latter, Vasi enumerates sixty-five as worth looking at; and of these, some fifteen or twenty really deserve to be visited. With regard to their architecture, though chargeable with great faults, the details being very far

* Forsyth, vol. i. pp. 223, 4.

from correct in themselves, and the proportions not always good, yet, they produce, by their size, and by the abundance and bold projection of the ornaments, a general impression of magnificence; and to an architect, Mr. Woods says, ‘ are invaluable as a collection of experiments on architectural beauty on a grand scale and in a grand style.’ * Those which are distinguished by their collections of works of art, are, the *Palazzo Borghese*;† the *Palazzo Sciarra*;‡ the *Palazzo Doria*, the gallery of which is particularly rich in landscapes;§ the *Palazzo Bracciano*; the *Palazzo Colonna*,—containing a magnificent saloon, supported by polished columns of *giallo-antico*, with ‘ a storied ceiling, displaying the battle of Lepanto, which raised a Colonna to the honour of a Roman triumph;’‖ the *Palazzo Giustiniani*,

* For some critical and descriptive observations on the principal palaces of Rome, we must refer the reader to Letter xxix. of Mr. Woods's first volume. ‘However,’ he says, ‘ they may be abused as extravagant, absurd, or preposterous, they at least avoid the greatest fault that a building can have, that of being mean and paltry. They are rarely decorated either with columns or pilasters, and they are better without them; for these never look well in a building of many stories.’

† This collection (comprising between 400 and 500 pictures) ranks among the first in Rome. Mr. Williams has devoted one of his Letters to a descriptive catalogue of the principal pictures.—Vol. i. pp. 303—317.

‡ Containing one of the most select small collections in Rome. See Williams, vol. ii. pp. 92—95. Rome, &c. vol. iii. pp. 26—32.

§ Gaspar Poussin was a servant in the Doria family; and the largest collection of his pictures is in this gallery, with a number by Claude Lorrain.—See Williams, vol. ii. p. 73—78; Rome, &c. vol. iii. pp. 6—14.

‖ ‘ The finest gallery, and about the worst collection of

built on the site of Nero's Baths; the *Palazzo Braschi;* the *Palazzo Farnese;* the *Palazzo Spada;** the *Palazzo Mattei;* the *Palazzo Costaguti;*† the *Palazzo Falconieri,* containing the very extensive and valuable collection made by Cardinal Fesche;‡ the *Palazzo Farnesina;* the *Palazzo Corsini;* the *Palazzo Barberini;* and the Pontifical Palace on *Monte Cavallo.*

In a Picture of Rome, its villas§ would claim description. Many of them are very beautifully situated; and some are famous for their collections of antiquities and works of art. The *Villa Borghese* is celebrated for its gardens or pleasure grounds, which occupy nearly three miles in circuit. They are situated on the broad summit of the Pincian hill, immediately without the walls of Rome; and are professedly laid out in the English style of gardening, the trees being unclipped, and the walks being shaded by the luxurious foliage

any in Rome.'—Rome, &c. vol. iii. pp. 14—21. Williams, vol. ii. pp. 79—83.

* All the paintings here, are of an inferior class, or copies, but the great attraction in this palace is a colossal statue of Pompey, supposed to be the identical statue at the foot of which great Cæsar fell.

† Dismal and dirty, and containing no paintings; but the frescoes on the ceilings are worthy of study.

‡ See Williams, vol. ii. pp. 30—55.

§ 'A few cardinals created all the great villas of Rome. Their riches, their taste, their learning, their leisure, their frugality, all conspired in this single object. While the Eminent founder was squandering thousands on a statue, he would allot but one crown for his own dinner. He had no children, no stud, no dogs, to keep...This taste generally descends to his heirs, who mark their little reigns by successive additions to the stock.'—Forsyth.

of noble evergreens. The drive through these grounds, which are always open to the public, and form the usual promenade on holidays, is one of the most pleasant about Rome. The road winds through deep groves of ilex, laurel, cypress, and pine, and terminates at a *Casino*, which, though stripped of its most famous treasures of art, retains unimpaired the splendour of its marbles and the beauty of its halls. The gardens of the *Villa Aldobrandini* are gay and pleasant, and kept in excellent order. The *Villa Ludovisi*, which includes part of Sallust's gardens, contains some very precious pieces of ancient statuary. The *Villa Pamfili*, on the Janiculan Mount, commands a most beautiful prospect, and has, in its gardens, a 'theatre of fountains.' The *Villa Lanti*, on the same hill, built by Guido Romano, is adorned with frescoes by that master and his pupils. The magnificent *Villa Medici*, almost the only modern villa on the Pincian, is now the French Academy. *Monte Mario* is also crowned with decayed villas.

But the most beautiful villa in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, is the *Villa Albani*, a little beyond the *Porta Salara*,—'a villa of exquisite design, planned by a profound antiquary. Here, Cardinal Alexander Albani, having spent his life in collecting ancient sculpture, formed such porticoes and such saloons to receive it, as an old Roman would have done; porticoes where the statues stood free on the pavement, between columns proportioned to their stature; saloons which were not stocked, but embellished with families of allied statues, and seemed full without a crowd. Here Winkelmann grew into an antiquary under

the Cardinal's patronage and instruction; and here he projected his history of art, which brings this collection continually into view.*'

Of the magnificence of this collection, some idea may be formed, when it is known, that, although the French carried off upwards of two hundred pieces of ancient sculpture,† of which few have been restored, the profusion of marbles is even now astonishing, and no place affords a greater variety of select and precious works. Many collections, indeed, we are told, are more numerous, but none are so choice, there being scarcely a single piece that is not remarkable either for its rarity or beauty, while the value of the collection is enhanced by the taste and elegance with which it is arranged.‡

The environs of Rome,—Tivoli, Frascati, Palestrina, Albano, Cicero's Villa, Horace's Sabine Farm,—for a description of these, we must refer the traveller to Vasi, Miss Waldie,§ and Mrs. Starke. Our object has rather been, to supply him with information not so easily obtained, respecting that which constitutes the chief attraction of Rome,—the remains of the ancient city and its

* Forsyth, vol. i. p. 267.

† Forsyth states, that 294 pieces of ancient sculpture were sent thence to Paris, or lay in cases at *Ripa-grande*, ready to be shipped. Some were fortunately ransomed.

‡ Rome, &c. vol. iii. p. 117. 'Even the magnificent halls of the Vatican contain a great deal of very *mediocre* sculpture; so do also the Capitol, the Gallery of Florence, and that still finer collection, the *Studii* of Naples.' Not so the Villa Albani.

§ See Rome in the Nineteenth Century, vol. iii. pp. 341 to the end. Also Woods, vol. ii. Letters, 33, 35, 36, 37.

ecclesiastical architecture. Nor will the general reader, we hope, complain, that the space which this has necessarily occupied, restrains us from extending our topographical survey to the adjacent country, rich as it may be in sites of historic fame and scenes of beauty.

We have yet to speak of the population of Rome. With respect to the number of the inhabitants, the city has undergone some remarkable fluctuations even in recent times. In the year 1709, they amounted, according to Labat, to 138,568 souls, 'without including eight or ten thousand Jews.' In 1740, they had increased to 146,080; and in 1765, Gibbon left them, he says, 161,899, without the Jews.* During the reign of Napoleon, the population of Rome rapidly decreased. Between 1800 and 1814, the city appears to have lost 35,000 of its population (above a fifth part); having declined, according to the official returns, from 153,000 to 117,882. But, since 1815, it has been recovering. In 1817, it contained 153,000 inhabitants, including 8000 Jews.† A more recent census, however, makes the Roman Catholic inhabitants amount to only 107,060 inhabitants; and states the total population at 144,541, which appears to exclude the Jews.‡ The number of families was 33,689; which, on the usual computation of five to a

* Gibbon, c. *ult.*

† Cadell, vol. i. p. 449. The official returns of that year give only 131,356.—Simond, p. 250.

‡ Literary Gazette, May 15, 1830. This estimate is stated to be an increase in one year, of 2221. No notice is taken of the Jews. After stating the number of the Catholics, it is added, 'the remainder are Protestants.'

family, would give a total of nearly 170,000. Besides which, the ecclesiastics and religious orders amounted to 5899; viz. 35 bishops, 1490 priests, 1984 monks and friars, and 2390 nuns.* The nineteen Cardinals appear to have been overlooked. The proportion of females to male inhabitants, in the census of 1825, was as 65 to 73. The present annual mortality is about 1 in 25; the number of births as 1 to 32.

Upon the whole, we may estimate the total population of modern Rome at between 150,000 and 160,000 souls, who occupy an area of about a square mile and a half, out of the five square miles included within the walls. Within this area, it is supposed, that upwards of a million of inhabitants were once collected;† although, with half a million, it has been remarked, it would be more crowded than either London or Paris. It is probable, however, that a considerable portion of the population of the ancient metropolis resided beyond the limits of the fourteen regions and the wall of Aurelian. The population was at the lowest in the seventh and eighth centuries, when Rome was reduced comparatively to a village.

* In 1825, there were 19 cardinals, 32 bishops, 1456 priests, 1662 monks, 1502 nuns, 468 students, 2002 in the hospitals, and 1020 in the prisons; and the total population was estimated at 138,370 souls. See Malte Brun, vol. vii. p. 769.

† In the reign of Theodosius, according to P. Victor, Rome contained 48,382 dwelling-houses, of which 1780 were *domus*, and 46,602 *insulæ*, each of the latter containing several families. On this basis, Gibbon rests his computation which assigns to Rome, at that period, a population of 1,200,000.—See Gibbon, c. 31.

In the fourteenth century, it had risen to 33,000; in the time of Leo X., to 85,000. But at the present time, the total population of the united delegations of Viterbo and Cività Vecchia, in which Rome is comprehended, and which must once have contained several millions of inhabitants, does not amount to half a million: it was only 415,000 a few years ago.*

'The national character,' Forsyth says, in his emphatic manner, 'is the most ruined thing in Rome. The character of the common people is usually locked up, yet, subject to strange escapes. They can make long sacrifices to a distant pleasure. Thousands starve during the whole month of September, to provide for one extravagant feast in October, at *Monte Testaccio*. Though timidly cautious in common transactions, they are desperate at play. This passion, pervading every rank, finds all the lotteries of Italy open at Rome. Many call religion in to the aid of gambling. They resort to *San Giovanni Decollato*, a church devoted to condemned criminals, and try to catch in prayer, certain divine intimations of the lucky ticket. Their resentments can lie brooding for years before they start out. In their quarrels, I never saw any approach to fair fighting. Boys fly to stones, and men to the clasp-knife; but the most desperate ruffian abstains from fire-arms. To shoot your enemy, is held atrocious: to plunge a stiletto into his back, a proof of spirit.†

* Cadell, vol. i. p. 499. Burton, vol. i. p. 71. Malte Brun, vol. vii. p. 767.

† 'I am told,' says Mr. Simond, 'there is now about one

'The *Trasteverini*, though sudden and quick in quarrel with strangers, live quietly among themselves, or contrive to wrangle without bloodshed. This race has been extolled as the true descendants of the ancient Romans, and even as brave. Their courage, however, is better known in the streets than in the field. Insurrections and mobs seem to be its only element.

'In ascending to the other ranks, I can hardly consider that urbanity which prevails here, as any great merit at Rome. The weak composition of the Roman court, its dependence on so many States, the resort of great and accomplished strangers, the subsistence which the people derive from their expenditure, make courtesy an obligation on all. In no part of Italy are the *conversazioni* more elegant, more various, or more free from aristocratical stiffness. Whether general gayety, or literature, or the arts, gaming, or music, or politics, or buffoonery be your object, in one

murder a day committed in Rome. Formerly, the average was from five to six each day; and fourteen are actually known to have taken place during one great festival. Most of these are vulgar murders, among the lowest of the people, in consequence of accidental broils when they are heated with liquor; for, notwithstanding their reputation for sobriety, Italians (the vulgar at least) often get intoxicated, and, from some peculiarity in their constitution, become drunk with very little wine. Among them, a first murder establishes the reputation of a young man, as, among their betters, a first duel; and their idea of courage, and also of liberty, seems to consist in the free use of the stiletto! Such is the prevalent feeling, that the popular exclamation of *povero Cristiano* is applied, not to the bleeding man on the ground, but to the person who stabbed him.' —Simond, p. 227. This is still more applicable to Naples.

house or other you may be gratified every evening. Whatever be your pretensions here, they will be fully allowed. Rome is a market well stocked with the "commodity of good names." Praise you may command even to a surfeit, provided you repay it. With all this civility, their humour is naturally caustic; but they lampoon as they stab, only in the dark. The danger attending open attacks, forces them to confine their satire within epigram; and thus pasquinade is but the offspring of hypocrisy, the only resource of wits who are obliged to be grave on so many absurdities in religion, and respectful to so many upstarts in purple.

'The Roman ladies are more indebted to nature than to man. Their general style of beauty is large, like the Juno; and their forms, though luxuriant, are so perfect in proportion, that a critic is driven to their feet before he can find a defect.*

'No class in the Papal State can be more important than the clergy. These, in general, are learned, at least literary men; pretty correct in exteriors, and guarded in their debauchery. From the length and rigour of their education, most of

* Mr. Matthews says: 'The women are in the grandest style of beauty. The general character of their figure is the majestic.... Voluptuousness is written in every feature;'... but there is also an expression of energy, and serious enthusiasm, and firmness of purpose,—'too often mingled with a look of ferocity that is very repulsive.'—Matthews, p. 114. They excel, for the most part, in music, dancing, and sometimes poetry; they speak a language 'all music.' 'Every female attraction is theirs,' says Forsyth, 'except perhaps the best.'

them smell of the college or of the convent. Yet, sometimes you meet an *abatino di città*, a modern Ruccellai, who may fairly be set in opposition to our own clerical bucks.

'When dazzled with the splendour of the Roman clergy, through all their gradation of colour, —grey, black, purple, scarlet, up to the sovereign white; when we have admired their palaces, their liveries, their carriages wheeled out in rows to be admired; let us then reverse the medal, and view the exhaustion which this gross plethory of clerical wealth leaves below it. Let us survey all the forms of misery, the sickness, the sores, the deformity, the hunger, which infest the streets, where every beggar is distinguished by his own attitude, tone, and variety of the pathetic, while all together present a strange climax of wretchedness.

'In the morning comes a *Marchesa* to your lodgings, recounts the fortunes of her noble house, its rank, its loyalty, its disasters, its fall; and then relieves "your most illustrious Excellency" from embarrassment, by begging one or two *pauls*. An old *abate* steals on your evening walk, and twitching you with affected secresy, whispers that he is starving. On the dirty pavement, you see *Poveri Vergognosi* kneeling silently in masks. In the coffee-houses stand a more unfortunate class, who watch the waiter's motions to dart on your change. In the courts of palaces, you meet wretches gnawing the raw roots gleaned from the dunghill; and at night, you will sometimes find at your gate-way, a poor boy sleeping close to

his dog for mutual warmth. Such is the metropolis of Christ's church visible on earth!'*

'The Romans,' says Mr. Galiffe, 'are a sullen, pale, spiritless, morose people. They hardly ever speak, except to beg alms, which, when offered, they absolutely tear from the giver, without taking the trouble to thank him, and without shewing the least satisfaction at having obtained them. They are not at all like the Italians we had previously seen: in fact, they are like no other living beings. The whole nation seems tired of its existence, and waiting for the sleep of death. Walking, seeing, hearing, every act, in short, seems to be a painful exertion of exhausted mind and body. I never saw one of them smile. I am now speaking of the native Romans of the lower classes, not of the temporary inhabitants of Rome, who come from various districts far and near, to gain their livelihood in the city; nor am I speaking of the country people in the neighbourhood. The latter, whose appearance is classical, graceful, and picturesque, do seem to have some life and spirit remaining. How different, alas! from the melancholy citizens of Rome!'

As for the classes which stand immediately above the lowest, 'the tradespeople are, in general, honest and civil, far from cheerful, but yet, not sullen. The higher ranks are, in all countries, so very nearly alike, that I had little expectation,' continues Mr. G., 'of finding them marked with any distinguishing

* Forsyth, vol. ii. p. 194—200.

features in Rome. But I was mistaken. They are remarkable for the same dull and dissatisfied appearance as the lowest; are destitute of all spirit and of all energy; are incapable of pleasurable, as well as of painful exertions; and are more like ghosts than beings of this world. There are some few exceptions, but those few are almost exclusively among the descendants of mothers who were not natives of Rome.'*

'Alas!' exclaims the Author of Anastasius, in the eloquent burst of feeling which he ascribes to his hero on approaching 'the ancient mistress of the world, the eternal city, the destroyer of Greece;' 'alas! if he who names Rome, names energy, names strength, he who beholds what remains of so much greatness, beholds nothing but imbecility and impotence: he beholds the prostrate carcass of a giant, and foul corruption devouring its remains. The very monuments of a more recent date, only arise, like fresher weeds, out of the ashes of a former decay.' The bitter diatribe against the national character which follows, is meant for satire, but it is satire pointed by truth.

* Galiffe, vol. ii. pp. 2—6. This Writer cites an admirable comparison by which Mr. Edward Bankes once described the modern Romans. They reminded him of 'impressions of engravings from worn-out plates. They seem to be but half-finished; and wherever the strokes are deep and strong, you may be sure there is a blot.'—'Bright contrasts to all that is absurd and unamiable in the general character of the lower classes at Rome, are, however, to be found;' and Italians are to be met with, so 'nobly good,' as almost to vindicate the native character, the atrocious debasement of which must be ascribed to their civil and religious institutions.

'These people' (the modern Romans) 'cannot prevent the sun of their fine climate from shining at its stated hours; but they make their streets impervious to its cheering light: a deep gloom meets the eye, wherever towers man's abode. They cannot prohibit the rich vegetation of their fertile soil from diffusing its fragrance; but they collect every villanous odour to subdue nature's sweets: even amid their very orange-groves, loss of scent would be a gain! They cannot cancel the spring's ancient privilege of enamelling with flowers the swelling hill and dimpled valley; but they tarry in their fetid town till the magic has vanished, and autumn embrowns both the garden and the grove; —no one thinks of country rambles till summer is gone by. They cannot stop the crystal rills, while bubbling up in the mountain; but they suffer the captive stream to ooze out of the aqueduct, and to infuse pestilence into the marshy plain. They cannot dive into the inmost recesses of the human brain, there to nip in its very first germs every brightest faculty; but, conducting the developments of the human reason as the Chinese do those of their peach and plum trees, they encompass each tender shoot of the intellect with so many minute fetters, religious, political, and social, that dwarfs are produced where giants were intended. Their manuscripts are not suffered to be inspected; their pictures are left to rot. Their very city has been allowed to slip from its seven hills into the sink between. They clip their trees into men, and their men into singers. Their law deems infamous, not the thief, but the magistrate— the *bargello*. Their tribunals sell justice to the

highest bidder ; their churches screen the criminal. The seclusion of the convent, is the school of the sovereign ; the renouncement of the world, the preliminary to ruling the state ; and the decrepitude of old age, the chief recommendation in the candidate for the supreme power. Vigour to hold the reins of empire, is a motive for exclusion from the pontifical throne. Those who aspire to govern, must renounce connubial bliss ; and all chance of a lawful lineage must be foregone, ere those honours are attainable, which man elsewhere seeks chiefly for the sake of his offspring. Hence, nephews step into the place of sons ; and the very policy of the statesman becomes doubly crooked, from the oblique direction given to his affections. The word virtue, indeed, exists in the language, but is applied to skill in singing ; and as to valour, the former signification of the same word, it is a quality which during so many ages has been let out for hire,—first in the gross by the *condottiere*, and next more in detail by the professed bravo,—that those disclaim it, who value their character ; and cowardice, under the name of caution, forms not only the privilege of the priest, but the pride of the cavalier. Visit a friend in the daytime, and he surveys you through a grated hole in his entrance door, ere he dares to let you in : venture out at night, and from a distance you are bidden to avert your eyes, lest one murder witnessed should necessitate a second. The very Head of the Church, when in the holy of holies, dares not take the consecrated wine except through a gilded reed, lest his lips should suck in poison ; and in the heart of his capital, the pontiff of Rome

keeps in his pay, for the safety of his person, the rude mountaineer of Swisserland, as your Turkish pasha does the barbarian from Epirus and from Coordestan. Thank God! however, this mass of imbecility and vice hies fast to its fate. Nature herself conspires with man in the work of just destruction. In that sky so transparent lurks a permanent poison, which, formerly only creeping like the adder along the hollow valley, now soars like the eagle above the steepest hill, and invades the last abodes once safe from its intrusion. Thus shall soon the world's ancient mistress again return to nought; and as the herdsman erst wandered in solitude where Rome in later days arose, so shall the herdsman again wander in solitude where Rome has ceased to be.'*

Predictions like this have often been ventured by philosophical moralists, respecting other cities than imperial Rome; and they may seem but the undefined shadows which history casts upon the future. It is impossible, however, to forget, how singularly they accord, in the present instance, not merely with the prophecy ascribed to St. Benedict, and the legendary catalogue of St. Malachy, but with the interpretation which almost all Protestant commentators have put upon the distinct announcements of Apostolic prophecy. If, indeed, with some learned expositors, we understand the inspired prediction as relating only to heathen Rome, the destruction of the Seven-hilled city may be considered as sufficiently complete to justify the strong figurative language of the Apocalyptic

* Hope's Anastasius, vol. iii. pp. 370—374.

vision; and in the eloquent lamentations of Petrarch, of Poggio, and of Gibbon, we may seem to hear the prophetic elegy over 'that great city, Babylon, that mighty city.' But Rome and the Coliseum are still standing.* The image of Jupiter is enthroned, under another name, in the temple of God; and bare-footed monks still chant their vespers in the fane that has risen on the ruins of the Feretrian Jove. The Mistress of the World, in the decrepitude of her power, still retains the style of royalty, and 'sits a queen,' clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls,' having in her hands that golden cup of intoxication,—the very personification of all the splendours of the present world; and the catalogue of her merchandise may still be emphatically summed up with 'slaves and souls of men.' On the other hand, that seat of hers is continually trembling with the slight, but fearful indications of the subterranean fires which lurk beneath, ready to renew those ravages of which the whole region exhibits traces in the formation of the hills and the character of the soil. It is impossible not to be struck with this fact, in connexion with the evident allusion, in the language of the prediction, to volcanic phenomena. It is at least possible that the craters of

* The 'sublime proverbial expression' in which the rude enthusiasm of the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims broke forth, who visited Rome in the eighth century, is recorded by the Venerable Bede, and thus given by Gibbon: 'As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand; when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome falls, the world will fall.' —Gibbon, c. *ult.*

the Alban hills may again open their dreadful artillery upon the city, or that the Curtian Gulf may itself become the mouth of the furnace, and in one day all this glory, and pomp, and riches, 'come to nought.'*

* Rev. xviii. 10—17.

CHAPTER VII.

NAPLES.

One more city of Italy remains to be described, —that which is the ordinary termination of the stranger's pilgrimage in Italy, in size and population the third city in Europe.* But the capital of the Two Sicilies does not properly come within the geographical limits to which it has been found necessary to confine the present work; and a description of Naples and its territory would require, not a chapter, but a volume. Unlike every other city of Italy, its prominent attractions consist neither of the remains of antiquity nor the treasures of art, but of the matchless beauty of the landscape and the interest of the living scene. The former can be described only by the painter: the latter is well nigh indescribable. All that we shall attempt is, to record the impressions produced by this singular city on the minds of some of our most intelligent travellers.

Naples is built at the bottom of a circular bay nearly 60 miles in circumference, and, together with its suburbs and the contiguous villages, extends from six to eight miles along the water. Wide quays, terraces, and projecting piers break the uniformity of the line of houses; and the scene

* The population is estimated at 364,000.

is further diversified by a fort on an insulated rock in the sea (*Castello dell' Uovo*), the fortress of St. Elmo, on a mountain commanding the city, and a public walk on the shore, nearly a mile in length, and planted with great taste. To enjoy the picture at its finest point, you must sail out in the morning about a mile from the mole, and catch the sun rising behind the hills. 'There,' says Forsyth, 'you can distinguish at once the three delabrated craters, upon which the city forms a loose amphitheatre ;* you see the whole elevation broken into great masses, and crossed by great lines ; lines formed of long palaces, hanging-gardens, and regular rows of terraced roofs ; you trace the outline on the sea, curiously indented, the shipping clustered behind the moles and castles or towers on the points of projection. Such is the city taken in one broad view.' And nothing, almost all travellers unite in agreeing, can exceed it in beauty ; but it is beauty in the lap of horror. The dark and barren summit of Vesuvius is seen towering, on the right, in tremendous contrast, giving its specific character to the landscape, while it seems to wear an awful frown that reproves the presumption and frivolity of the busy crowds below.

Yet, beautiful as is the scene, its beauty as a mere landscape has been, perhaps, a little overrated ; and the following remarks (for which we are indebted to a gentleman to whose pen we

* A strange expression ; but nothing can be more expressive than 'loose,' as applied to the soil of Naples ; while the word truncated will best describe the form of the hills and heights ; both appearances produced by the action of fire.

should have been happy to lie under still greater obligations) will not fail to strike the reader by their fine discrimination. 'The picture labours throughout under an unsatisfactory tameness. The heights are flat; the city possesses no spires, towers, or cupolas; the bay itself is lifeless, without ship or wave. The want of trees is, they say, not felt, when the whole face of the country is enveloped in the verdure of the vine; and perhaps, the increase of colour may qualify the tameness of which I complain. Climate, however, has influenced the pens of those who have sung its praises. Still, it is one of the choice spots on the face of the earth. The bay, though dull, is calm, and, from being clear of tides, is free from unsightly strand. Commercially considered, this absence of ebb and flow is a defect, as it bars the convenience of dry docks; but I speak in the character of a painter. The shores are covered with interesting ruins, and broken into graceful inlets. Capri and Vesuvius, the most distinguished features of the scene, possess, both of them, very elegant outlines. The white towns, edging the whole circuit from Miseno to Campanella, are both agreeable objects, and indications of cultivation and the abundance of nature. Everything wears an appearance of richness and luxury in accordance with the climate; and if the people are poor, they are lively; if ragged, smart in their rags. Their humours are the chief calls on observation within the town; for it has literally nothing to shew but the Museum. The environs possess all the interest, in happy opposition to that of Rome. The chief one, above all beauty, to strangers at least, lies in their vol-

canoes and volcanic indications,—in the visible existence and action of fire as one of the elements. Naples, in fact, owes its celebrity mainly to the powers that desolate it; for nothing can exceed the disinterred treasures of Pompeii and Herculaneum, as well as the towns themselves, in arresting and gratifying curiosity.'*

'There is not, I really believe,' observes Mr. Galiffe, 'a city in the world, the approach to which is so clearly indicated by the stir and bustle in its vicinity, as Naples. You begin to perceive an extraordinary degree of vivacity in the whole population, long ere you arrive at the Capital; and this appearance increases so strikingly at every mile, that you are well prepared for the astonishing scene which awaits you on entering the city. One of the circumstances which surprised me most, was the immense multitude of very young children, who are already of use to their parents. You see little boys and girls of five or six years old, as busily employed as their elders; one is the bearer of his father's breakfast to the fields; another carries a pick-axe or a spade, which you would hardly think him strong enough to lift; another is driving an ass with vegetables to market. We saw a little creature standing on a chair, grinding a knife, while another still younger was turning the wheel. In short, every one was at some occupation, and every body seemed to be in a hurry. The aspect of all this busy crowd was extremely entertaining.'†

'Naples, in its interior,' says Mr. Forsyth, 'has no parallel on earth. The crowd of London is

* MS. letter. † Galiffe, vol. ii. pp. 53, 54.

uniform and intelligible: it is a double line in quick motion; it is the crowd of business. The crowd of Naples consists in a general tide rolling up and down, and in the middle of this tide a hundred eddies of men. Here you are swept on by the current, there you are wheeled round by the vortex. A diversity of trades dispute with you the streets. You are stopped by a carpenter's bench, you are lost among shoe-makers' stools, you dash among the pots of a *maccaroni*-stall, and you escape behind a *lazzarone's* night-basket. In this region of caricature, every bargain sounds like a battle; the popular exhibitions are full of the grotesque; some of their church processions would frighten a war-horse.

'The Mole seems on holidays an epitome of the town, and exhibits most of its humours. Here stands a methodistical friar preaching to one row of *lazzaroni:* there, Punch, the representative of the nation, holds forth to a crowd. Yonder, another orator recounts the miracles performed by a sacred wax-work, on which he rubs his *agnuses*, and sells them, thus impregnated with grace, for a grain a piece. Beyond him are quacks in hussar uniform, exalting their drugs, and brandishing their sabres, as if not content with one mode of killing. The next *professore* is a dog of knowledge, great in his own little circle of admirers. Opposite to him stand two jocund old men, in the centres of an oval groupe, singing alternately to their crazy guitars. Further on is a motley audience seated on planks, and listening to a tragi-comic *filosofo*, who reads, sings, and gesticulates old Gothic tales of Orlando and his Paladins.

'This is a theatre where any stranger may study for nothing the manners of the people. At the theatre of San Carlo, the mind, as well as the man, seems parted off from its fellows in an elbow-chair. There all is regulation and silence: no applause, no censure, no object worthy of attention, except the court and the fiddle. There the drama—but what is a drama in Naples without Punch? or what is Punch out of Naples? Here, in his native tongue, and among his own countrymen, Punch is a person of real power; he dresses up and retails all the drolleries of the day; he is the channel, and sometimes the source of the passing opinions; he can inflict ridicule; he could gain a mob, or keep the whole kingdom in good humour. Such was De Fiori, the Aristophanes of his nation, immortal in buffoonery.

'In general, the streets are straight, but very narrow. The *Larghi* (for none can be called squares) are irregular, both in aspect and plan. Some are refreshed with fountains; others are decorated with statues or sculptured obelisks. The houses are lofty, the roofs flat; more than half the fronts consist in window, and every window is faced with an iron balcony.

'The Royal palace, though only a part of Fontana's design, is large enough for Naples. Its front includes the three Greek orders; but neither its style nor materials required oriental columns at the gates: the court, if not grand, is noble: the admired staircase is only vast.

'*Capo di Monte* is so majestic a situation, that it somewhat extenuates the blunder of building a lumpish palace on a hollow and quarried shell. Here are still some remains of the Parma gallery,

though most of the pictures serve as mere upholstery. Indeed, the keeper himself felt shame for his stores, and condemned by a "*non guardi*" whole rooms to neglect. The *conoscenti* admire here a recumbent Venus, which has, however, too much of the statue—one musician tuning his guitar, and another composing—some saints by Guercino—some portraits by Raffael and Andrea del Sarto. Two of Parmigianino's are praised for that grace which struck me as too peculiar, too characteristic for so vague a quality as grace.

'The *Studii* is another vast and unfinished palace, where I found them arranging the Farnese and the Palatine libraries.' *

Here also is a small collection of pictures, but they are for the most part of indifferent merit.† The collection of sculptures, however, is inferior only to those of Rome and Florence, comprising some admirable statues of rare antiquity. 'The famous Hercules appears pre-eminent: it is well entitled to the society of the lovely Flora, who accompanied him to Naples from the Farnese palace at Rome. Juno, magnificent and grand, is a companion fit for Jove and Jupiter Ammon. The statues of Bacchus are likewise excellent, as also several gladiators and statues of the Balbo family.' There is a noble statue of Aristides, which Mr. Williams prefers above that of 'the declaiming Cicero.' The Venus is not less cele-

* Forsyth, vol. ii. pp. 33—37.

† 'The picture gallery contains much trash; but the Madonna, &c. with the Rabbits by Correggio, and the Charity of Schidone, deserve all their fame, and are not the only fine things in it.'—MS. letter.

brated; and the sitting statue of Agrippina is somewhat too strongly praised, when it is pronounced to be without a rival. * The collection of Greek and Etruscan vases, and of bronzes found at Herculaneum, is the most valuable in Europe, and affords of itself an extensive and intricate object of study.

The *Francavilla* palace contains a few pictures of the first order;—'two wonderful Dead Christs, by Schidone; a Madonna, in Raffael's largest manner; a St. John the Baptist by Da Vinci,—so jocund is his smile and so delicate his beauty, that, were the crossed reed transformed into a *thyrsus*, and the skin round his loins into a panther's, he might pass for a young Bacchus.'† Prince Leopold has also an unrivalled collection of Salvator-Rosas. The Dead Christ, by Spagnolet, at S. Martino's, (a very sumptuous church,) is a first-rate production; and the three statues in the chapel of *San Severo*, of which the Neapolitans boast much, are at least curiosities in art.‡

Naples is not, however, at present, either a school or a cradle of art, which is at a lower ebb here, than in any other considerable city of Italy. Nor does the city contain any thing very striking

* Williams, vol. ii. pp. 128, 9. The *Toro Farnese*, which Forsyth describes as placed in a public walk near the sea, and scraped white, to expose it the more effectually to the corroding spray, was removed from the *Villa Reale* to the *Studii* in Feb. 1826. 'So pieced a thing,' says Forsyth, 'is the *Toro* now, that the work of Apollonius is mixed with Bianchi's in every figure, and the principal figures are the most restored. No head is original but the herdsman's, which is thought disproportioned to the rest.'

† Forsyth. ‡ Sass, p. 169; Woods, vol. ii. p. 183.

or meritorious in its architectues. The churches, seen after those of Rome, appear flat and insipid. The best building is the new church of *Sta. Francesca*, by Bianchi. 'Both architecture and sculpture,' Forsyth remarks, 'seem here to perpetuate that *Sei-cento* taste which originated with a Neapolitan. They delight in the crooked, the piebald, the gaudy, and push irregularity to its furthest bourn. Alfonso's arch in Castel-Nuovo, though a mixed composition of the fifteenth century, is purity itself, compared with those abominable heaps of sculpture called *guglias*, which were raised in the last reign. Some of the modern churches are striking to the eye; but so is every monster. Within, they are spotted things, mere harlequins in marble, quite ugly with decoration. Carving is tormented, and gold-leaf laid on wherever it can find room. A rage for gilding runs through the nation. It disfigures walls, furniture, carriages. Even the hackney calash must have its coat of gold; the collar-maker gilds his hames; the apothecary gilds his pills; the butcher sticks gold-leaf on his mutton.

'In other respects, Naples, though still behind other nations, is gradually following their advanced improvements. Of late, the houses are more adapted to modern life; the apartments are cleaner and more commodious; their casements no longer consist of oiled paper or shutters, nor their hangings of greasy old silk or velvet.'*

There cannot be a stronger contrast than between Rome and Naples. 'In the former city,

* Forsyth, vol. ii., pp. 39, 40.

every thing breathes repose. The streets are not deserted, but you meet only with persons going soberly about on their several occasions; and except, perhaps, for about an hour in an evening, in the *Corso*, there is no crowd, no bustle. If you pass beyond the walls, you may walk for miles along the silent and open roads of the Campagna, and see only a few shepherds tending their flocks. Here, it is one everlasting tumult: every street seems crowded; the whole population is out of doors, and in incessant motion.'* 'The noise of Naples,' says Mr. Matthews, 'is enough to drive a nervous man mad. It would be difficult to imagine the eternal bustle and worry of the streets. The *Toledo*, the principal street, is very splendid and showy; the shops are gay and gaudy; and "the tide of human existence" flows with almost as much volume, and a great deal more noise, than at Charing Cross. But I think it cannot be compared with the solid and substantial magnificence of the *Corso* at Rome. After Rome, every thing at Naples looks poor and paltry.'†

Nor do these features constitute the whole of the contrast between the two capitals. There is a charm about Rome, which is wanting at Naples. 'Rome,' it has been well remarked, 'even amid ruin and desolation, recalls all that is impressive in history; Naples, embosomed in beauty, only what is disgusting. Rome occupies the soul; Naples, only the senses.' 'To a mere student of nature,' once more to cite the forcible language of Forsyth, 'to an artist, to a man of pleasure, to any man that can be happy among people who

* Woods, vol. ii. p. 180. † Matthews, p. 180.

seldom affect virtue, perhaps there is no residence in Europe so tempting as Naples and its environs. What variety of attractions!—a climate where heaven's breath smells sweet and wooingly—the most beautiful interchange of sea and land—wines, fruits, provisions, in their highest excellence—a vigorous and luxuriant nature, unparalleled in its productions and processes—all the wonders of volcanic power spent or in action—antiquities different from all antiquities on earth—a coast which was once the fairy-land of poets, and the favourite retreat of great men. Even the tyrants of the creation loved this alluring region, spared it, adorned it, lived in it, died in it. This country has subdued all its conquerors, and continues to subvert the two great sexual virtues, guardians of every other virtue, the courage of men and the modesty of women.'

'If Naples be "a paradise inhabited by devils," I am sure it is by merry devils. Even the lowest class enjoy every blessing that can make the animal happy,—a delicious climate, high spirits, a facility of satisfying every appetite, a conscience which gives no pain, a convenient ignorance of their duty, and a church which ensures heaven to every ruffian that has faith. Here, tatters are not misery, for the climate requires little covering; filth is not misery to them who are born to it; and a few fingerings of maccaroni can wind up the rattling machine for the day.

'They are, perhaps, the only people on earth that do not pretend to virtue. On their own stage, they suffer the Neapolitan of the drama to be always a rogue. If detected in theft, a lazzarone

will ask you, with impudent surprise, how you could possibly expect a poor man to be an angel. Yet, what are these wretches? Why, men whose persons might stand as models to a sculptor; whose gestures strike you with the commanding energy of a savage; whose language, gaping and broad as it is, when kindled by passion, bursts into oriental metaphor; whose ideas are cooped, indeed, within a narrow circle, but a circle in which they are invincible. If you attack them there, you are beaten. Their exertion of soul, their humour, their fancy, their quickness of argument, their address at flattery, their rapidity of utterance, their pantomime and grimace, none can resist but a lazzarone himself.

'These gifts of nature are left to luxuriate unrepressed by education, by any notions of honesty, or habits of labour. Hence, their ingenuity is wasted in crooked little views. Intent on the petty game of cheating only for their own day, they let the great chance lately go by, and left a few immortal patriots to stake their all for posterity, and to lose it.'*

And such is Italy! Well might the patriotic Florentine address to his country that impassioned apostrophe:

'Italia, thou to whom in evil hour,
The fatal boon of beauty Nature gave.
* * * * *
Conquering or conquered, evermore a slave.

* Forsyth, vol. ii. pp. 41, 2; 208, 9. See also, for some excellent remarks and much valuable information respecting the lower classes of Naples, Galiffe, vol. ii. pp. 56—74; 178—222.

How admirably has our own Goldsmith characterized this land of luxuriant beauty and soft voluptuousness!

'Man seems the only growth that dwindles here.'

The serpent that lived in Eden, still haunts this Paradise; and woman is first his victim, and then his engine. The *Otiosa Neapolis* was, indeed, in ancient times, the opprobrium of Italy. While the other States have enjoyed some measure of political liberty, under the protection of their municipal institutions, or of a domestic yoke, Naples, the basest of the European kingdoms, has long been held by the Spaniard in the most degrading vassalage; and nowhere, unless it be in Portugal, has the Church been so rapacious an oppressor. In Bishop Burnet's time, the Jesuits were the proprietors of nearly the half of Apulia; they were also the great merchants of Naples, where they had seven convents; the Dominicans had four and twenty houses of both sexes; the Franciscans, two and twenty; there were others belonging to the Benedictines, the Carthusians, the Carmelites, the Olivetans, and other orders;* and the plate in the churches was estimated to amount in value to at least eight millions of crowns. Four-fifths of the wealth of the kingdom, it was believed, were at that time the property of the clergy. — How shall such a country be emancipated?

But Naples scarcely belongs to Italy, or to Europe; and the Neapolitan differs from the Ro-

* Burnet, p. 158. Most of these, we presume, have been suppressed. The Certosa, a beautiful building, has been converted into barracks.

man, the Senese, the Florentine, the Venetian, and each of these from the rest, not less widely than the Belgian from the Hollander, the Castilian from the Frank. It is this national diversity that renders it next to impossible that Italy should ever be politically united under a native government, or even in the common cause of independence. When has Italy not been governed by foreign potentates,—by Lombard or German emperors, and pontiffs of foreign birth or foreign nomination? When has Rome itself not had a foreigner for its pontiff or patrician, its senator or its sovereign? Italy had, at one time, Milan, at another, Ravenna for its capital. Julius Cæsar had projected removing the seat of the Roman empire to Alexandria, as it was afterwards transferred to Gaul, to Africa, and to Thrace. The present capital of the Holy Roman Empire is Vienna; and that empire must fall, before Italy can be free.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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